

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM THE
EARLIEST DAWN OF RECORD
TO THE
PEACE OF MDCCLXXXIII.

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Grammar of the English Language.

*Nihil est aptius ad delectationem lectoris, quam temporum varietates
fortunæque vicissitudines. Cic. Epist. ad Fam.*

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THE
HISTORY

OF
ENGLAND



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Heath sculp^r

JAMES I.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK X.

From the UNION of the two BRITISH CROWNS
to the DECAPITATION of CHARLES I.

CHAP. I.

JAMES I.

James VI. of Scotland succeeds Elizabeth on the English throne.—He detects a conspiracy formed against him.—He concludes a peace with Spain.—The catholic mal-contents aim at the destruction of the king and parliament.—Their plot, called the Gunpowder Treason, is discovered and punished.—James attempts, without success, to bring about a complete union of the two kingdoms.

THE veil which Elizabeth had thrown over the English succession was now removed. Her peremptory nomination ¹ of the Scottish king proved that, how-

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1. "Who (said she) ought to succeed me but my nearest relative, the king of Scotland?" Camd.

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ever she had affected, from political views, to balance between the different competitors, she was convinced of the superiority of his pretensions. Her father's testamentary appointment of the Suffolk family to succeed her in the event of her childless decease, appeared to her too irregular to be valid; and the priority of hereditary right, in the royal line of Scotland, decided her sentiments in favor of James.

This prince, conceiving that his claim would be opposed by the English catholics, had endeavoured to conciliate their regard by treating his own subjects of that persuasion with a lenity which disgusted Elizabeth, who dreaded lest he should be encouraged by the insinuations of her enemies to aim at the premature possession of her throne. She had therefore used all the arts of intrigue and corruption to form a party among his nobles; and it has been strongly suspected that the Gowrie conspiracy (in the year 1600), which was represented by him as a design against his life, was a contrivance of Elizabeth for making him as it were a state prisoner, that he might be debarred from taking any steps to her prejudice². When she found, towards the close of her reign, that her nobles flocked to his court as candidates for the favor of their future sovereign, she was chagrined at their ungrateful neglect of a declining princess, and could not refrain from occasional expressions of mortification and complaint. Even her chief minister, Sir Robert Cecil, studious of his own interest, maintained an epistolary intercourse with the northern monarch; and the earl of Essex had promised to assist him in procuring from the queen and the parliament an explicit declaration of

2. As her concern in the *Raid of Ruthven* in 1582, (vide vol. v. p. 370.) is generally acknowledged, there is the greater probability of her concurrence in a second plot formed by the same family and faction.

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his right of succession. One cause of Elizabeth's resentment against this nobleman was his correspondence with James, whom he is said to have advised to insist, with arms in his hands, upon a solemn recognition of his claim. The jealous queen could not endure the thoughts of such a declaration, till she was seized with her final indisposition.

As soon as the queen's eyes were closed by the hand of death, the privy council, with the concurrence of an assembly of the peers, ordered the Scottish monarch to be proclaimed king of England³; and dispatched two messengers to his court to inform him of the important event, and request his speedy presence in the kingdom which had now devolved to him: Sir Robert Cary was so eager to be the first communicator of glad tidings, that he hastened to Edinburgh, and desiring immediate admission into the royal apartment, fell on his knees before James, and did homage to him as sovereign of England. The king, however, was unwilling to proclaim his new title to his old subjects, till he had received official intelligence from the English council. After the arrival of the messengers, he made preparations for his journey to the southward;

3. With respect to the prince who thus introduced the house of Stuart to the English throne, some genealogical remarks will not be superfluous. He acquired his new crown by his descent from Elizabeth, heiress of the house of York, the wife of Henry VII. whose daughter Margaret espoused James IV. of Scotland, to whom she bore James V. grandfather (by Mary queen of Scots) to the king of whom we are now treating. It is remarkable that this prince, if he had not been heir to the crown of England by his mother, would have been so by his father lord Darnley, the grandson of Margaret. It may also be observed, that, by both parents, he was a descendant of the house of Stuart, so called from the hereditary office of *steward* of Scotland, conferred by Malcolm Canmore on Walter, the grandson of Banquo, lord of Lochaber. The first monarch of this family was Robert II. who, as the nephew of David de Brus, succeeded that prince on the throne of Scotland, in the year 1370.

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and, having taken leave of the Scots in a public harangue, which was answered by the effusions of unaffected sorrow, he set out from Edinburgh with his favorite courtiers. When he had entered the English borders, he was entertained in his progress by the provincial gentry; and the eagerness of curiosity produced an extraordinary conflux of all ranks of people to the different places through which he passed. Surfeited with continued bustle, and disgusted with the obstructions which the intrusion of the public gave to his hunting excursions, he prohibited, by proclamation, the promiscuous approach of his subjects to his person. At Theobald's, a seat for which he afterwards gave the palace of Hatfield in exchange to Sir Robert Cecil, he was met by the chief members of Elizabeth's privy council; and while he continued in that mansion, he reinforced this assembly not only with the duke of Lenox and other Scots, but with several Englishmen of distinction⁴.

James was so prodigal of honors, that, within two months after his arrival in England, he knighted 237 persons; a number which he greatly increased by the time of his coronation. Before that solemnity, he invested above 60 individuals with the order of the Bath, and created two earls and twelve barons⁵. This liberal distribution of titles appeared the more remarkable, as the deceased sovereign had been very frugal of courtly honors of every denomination. But it was not only in the grant of titles that James was profuse: he was equally lavish of pensions and manors, which he principally bestowed on his countrymen, not without the murmurs of the English, who were pleased, however, to find that he committed the chief offices of

4. Camd. Annal. Jac. I.—Wilson's Life of James I.

5. Camd. Ann.—Stowe's Chronicle.

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government to his new subjects. Of the most popular measures which he adopted on his accession, one was a proclamation for suspending all monopolies till a full inquiry should have been made into them, prohibiting the extortions of purveyors, and removing such obstacles as occasionally arose, in the decision of law-suits, from the hand of power.

As the plague had for some time raged in London, James not only omitted the usual procession from the Tower to Westminster, prior to the coronation, but prohibited all the citizens, except the mayor, the aldermen, and twelve other members of the corporation, from being present at the ceremony. On the day dedicated to the saint of his own name, he and his queen (Anne of Denmark) were crowned in the abbey-church by the hands of archbishop Whitgift.

Before the coronation of James, the lords Cobham and Grey, and Sir Walter Raleigh, were apprehended on suspicion of treason; and after they had been detained some months in confinement, they were brought to their trials. As they had joined the party of Sir Robert Cecil against the late earl of Essex (whom James affected to consider as a martyr to his interests), and had not adopted that artful servility of conduct which the secretary had pursued with a view of obtaining the favor of the Scottish monarch, but had proposed that he should not be admitted to the throne of England without being subjected to certain conditions, they had been coolly received by the king, who, on the other hand, treated Sir Robert with marks of high regard. They endeavoured, without effect, to divert the current of royal favor from this minister, while he took every opportunity of inflaming the sovereign's prejudices against them. Being deprived of the offices

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which they had received from Elizabeth, and threatened with a constant exclusion from court, they communicated their discontents to each other; and various schemes of revenge were alternately proposed. At the same time, the spirit of disaffection pervaded the minds of many of the catholics, who, from the lenity which James had generally shown to their brethren, and from the report of his having promised to tolerate their religion, had conceived hopes which they now found fallacious. This disappointment operated with such force on the feelings of Clarke and Watfon, two Romish priests, that they formed schemes of violence and sedition. They proposed to seize the king, force him into measures of complete toleration, and drive his present ministers from the helm. Having learned the disgusts of Grey, Cobham, and Raleigh, they wished to act as the associates of these mal-contents; but it does not appear that the latter entered into any regular concert with the priests. We find, however, that they solicited the marquis of Rosni (afterwards duke of Sully), the French ambassador, to assist them in their schemes for a pretended reform of the government; but that minister refused to countenance their projects^o. It is also asserted that they applied to the envoy of the court of Brussels for his concurrence in their schemes, and that he promised considerable sums to the principal agents in the conspiracy; and that some of the mal-contents had expressed a desire of placing lady Arabella Stuart, (grand-daughter of Matthew earl of Lenox by a younger son, and consequently cousin-german to James), on the throne of England. But, whatever were the conceptions of the conspirators, no determinate plan seems to have been adopted, when the vigilance of Cecil detected their intrigues.

The two priests were tried at Winchester, and condemned to death, with four other delinquents, named Markham, Broke, Copley, and Brokesby. Sir Edward Parham was also brought to the bar, but was acquitted by the jury. The next trial was that of Sir Walter Raleigh; and it was conducted in a manner which reflects disgrace on the court. He was insulted with the most virulent and indecorous language from the mouth of Sir Edward Coke, the attorney general; he was accused on no other evidence than the written testimony of lord Cobham, a man of no principle or veracity; his repeated requests for the public appearance of that witness were rejected; and the influence of his ministerial adversaries, and that odium which he had entailed on himself by his enmity to the popular earl of Essex, contributed more to the production of an unfavorable verdict from his jury, than any presumptions of guilt which his trial afforded. Cobham and Grey were afterwards tried by their peers, and pronounced guilty of treason. Broke, who was brother to the former nobleman, was beheaded at Winchester; and the two priests were hanged. Satisfied with the blood thus shed, the king resolved to spare the lives of the other condemned mal-contents. Having issued warrants for the execution of Grey, Cobham, and Markham, he sent subsequent instructions of an opposite nature by an extraordinary messenger, whom he directed to produce his orders as soon as the criminals should have made their respective confessions on the scaffold. We are informed that Cobham, on this occasion, reverted to his original declaration of Raleigh's concern in the conspiracy, which he had retracted in a letter exhibited by Sir Walter on his trial. He and his associates received with inexpressible joy the intimation of the royal clemency, and vowed eternal

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gratitude to their sovereign, who resolved, however, not to carry his lenity to the utmost extent; for he not only exacted a complete forfeiture of their estates, but detained the two peers, as well as Raleigh, in confinement, and banished Markham, Copley, and Brokesby⁷.

Though some of the individuals concerned in the late conspiracy were puritans, the generality of those sectaries hoped to derive more benefit from moderate measures than from acts of treasonable outrage. They presented a petition to his majesty, requesting him to take measures for a reformation of the doctrine and discipline of the church. They flattered themselves with the prospect of favor and encouragement under the sway of a prince who had been educated amidst a nation of presbyterians; but James had been so harassed in Scotland by the seditious spirit of the clergy of that persuasion, that he bore little good-will to their persons; and while their principles of liberty were of too democratical a nature to please a monarch who entertained high notions of the royal prerogative, he was disgusted with their zeal against episcopacy, and their opposition to such ceremonies as he conceived to be useful appendages to the ecclesiastical system. Inspired with these sentiments, he signified his displeasure at the object of the petition now offered by the puritans; but, as they were very earnest in their solicitations for a public conference between them and the dignitaries of the church, he agreed to indulge them in this point, that he might have an opportunity of displaying, before his new subjects, his rhetorical and argumentative talents. At Hampton-court, the desired disputation took place; and the king maintained a leading

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7, Camd. Ann.—Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials.—Depeches de Daumont.

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part in the debate⁸, to the great satisfaction of the prelates, who were confident of triumphing in a cause which was at once supported by the authority of the sovereign and the erudition of the theologian. This conference produced only some trifling alterations in the liturgy; and it was followed by two proclamations, one of which ordered the enforcement of the laws against non-conformists in general, while the other required the speedy departure of all Romish priests from the realm.

The continuance of the plague⁹ having delayed the meeting of the first parliament of this reign, James now convoked that assembly by a remarkable proclamation, in which he gave instructions for the choice of proper representatives. He required that the freeholders should elect knights "of sufficient ability;" that "men of sufficiency and discretion" should be returned for boroughs, "without any partial respects or factious combinations;" that persons of "gravity and modest conversation" should be preferred; that those who were "noted either for their superstitious blindness or for their turbulent humors," and such as were bankrupts or outlaws, should be rejected. If any returns should be made contrary to the tenor of this proclamation, he denounced the terrors of imprisonment, fine, and loss of the franchises of boroughs¹⁰. Though this interference was not so direct as that which had been practised in the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, when many of the desired members were even named by the court, it was a gross infringement of parliamentary privilege.

8. Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 13—15.

9. Of 38,244 persons who died in London, from Dec. 1602 to the same month of the following year, 30,578 are computed to have fallen victims to the plague. Camd.

10. Rym. Fœd. vol. XVI.

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Mar. 19.

The two houses having assembled, the king opened the session with a long harangue; expressing his lively gratitude for their zeal in the acknowledgement of his title; congratulating them on the tranquillity which the nation enjoyed; expatiating on the benefits that would result from the union of the two kingdoms; signifying his intention of maintaining the established religion, and of executing the laws against papists and puritans; cautioning the two houses against the enactment of a multiplicity of laws (because, said he, *in corruptissimâ republicâ plurimæ leges*); exhorting all magistrates to act with strict impartiality, courage, and sincerity; apologising for his inability of gratifying the numerous solicitors of his bounty; reprimanding the importunity of many, who had imposed on the facility of his nature, to the impoverishment of the revenues of his crown; and making plausible promises of a moderate and equitable government¹¹.

At the commencement of the session, an affair of importance occurred. Sir Francis Goodwin having been elected one of the representatives of the county of Buckingham, against the wish of the ministry, who preferred his competitor Sir John Fortescue, the clerk of the crown refused to admit his return, alleging that he had been outlawed. A second writ was therefore issued from the court of chancery; and, after a new election, Sir John was returned. Fleetwood, the other member for Bucks, moved that this return might be examined; and the inquiry terminated in favor of Sir Francis. A conference having been maintained between the upper and lower house on the remains of feudal grievances, it was proposed by the lords that the case of Goodwin should be added to the other subjects of discussion; but this proposal was de-

¹¹. Parliamentary History of England, vol. v. p. 21—39.

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clined by the commons, as interfering with their privileges. The king supporting the request of the peers, the speaker and many of the members repaired to court, and deliberated with him on the affair. On this occasion, he advanced a bold assertion, intimating, that they derived all their privileges from royal grants, and that they ought not therefore to turn them against him. He desired them to re-consider the matter, and take the advice of the judges. After a spirited debate, they voted that there should be no conference with the judges; but, when his majesty, "as an absolute king," repeated his command, they named a committee for that purpose. Finding them resolved to maintain their privilege of deciding on their own elections and returns, he proposed, to save his honor for the present, that both Goodwin and Fortescue should be excluded, and that the house should issue a warrant for a new writ. The commons acquiesced in this adjustment of the dispute; and the king, who had felt some alarm at the spirit of his parliamentary subjects, perceived the necessity of proceeding with greater caution in his future operations ¹².

Another remarkable circumstance happened in the same session, with regard to a member (Sir Thomas Shirley) who had been arrested and confined in the Fleet. The warden having repeatedly refused to release the prisoner, the house resolved ¹³ to employ force in effecting his deliverance; but the speaker having intimated that every member who should have recourse to violence would be liable to an action, that resolution was not enforced. The house having at length sent the warden to the Tower, and imprisoned

12. Parliam. Hist. vol. v.—Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii.

13. By a majority of only 23 out of 329 members who were present; the division being 176 to 153.

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also the creditor and the bailiff, Sir Thomas recovered his liberty.

As James had united the two British crowns, he was extremely desirous of a complete union of the two kingdoms. He therefore directed the lord-chancellor Egerton (now baron of Ellesmere) to open this affair to the peers; and it was afterwards proposed to the commons in a conference. But the remains of national animosity against the North-Britons prevented the favorable reception of this scheme, though a bill was agreed to for the appointment of forty-four delegates to treat with thirty-one Scottish commissioners on a subject which involved the general interests of Great-Britain. James was so eager to assume the collective title of sovereign of the whole island, that, without waiting for the report of the commissioners, he ordered himself to be proclaimed king of Great-Britain¹⁴.

Among the statutes of this session, we find one that leaves a stigma on the age which produced it. It was directed against the visionary crime of witchcraft, ordaining, that such as should "practise any invocation" or conjuration of an evil spirit, or should consult, "covenant with, entertain, employ, or feed any such spirit," should be imprisoned and put in the pillory for the first offence, and, for the second, be put to death¹⁵. This complication of cruelty and absurdity was not abrogated till near the middle of the present century.

Of the other acts, the principal were, one for the recognition of James's right to the crown, another for preventing long leases of episcopal estates to the crown, one against Romish priests and recusants, another against the practice of simony, &c. With regard to

¹⁴. Wilson's Life of James.—Rym. Fœd. cap. 12.

¹⁵. Stat. 1 Jac. I.

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supplies, the commons testified such reluctance to the relief of the king's necessities, that, when they had passed the usual bill of tonnage and poundage, he thought proper to anticipate an invidious disappointment by sending a message to the house, desiring a discontinuance of debate on the delicate point of a subsidy ¹⁶.

During the deliberations of parliament, negotiations for a peace with Spain were in a train of adjustment. James, being of a pacific disposition, had expressed a desire of putting an end to the war between England and Spain; and Philip III. being also inclined to an accommodation, had empowered the constable of Castile to conclude the treaty. It was Philip's wish to detach the English from their connexions with the United Provinces; but James, conceiving his interest to be concerned in the support of the Dutch, resolved to adhere to that policy which had actuated Elizabeth in her conduct towards them. With this view, he had entered, soon after his accession, into a treaty with Henry IV. of France, engaging to unite with that prince in the defence of the republic, and to act in strict concert against the catholic king ¹⁷. In the peace which he now concluded with Philip, he left himself at liberty, by such a construction as was admitted by the negotiators, to decline the recall of his troops from the service of the states, and to suffer them to enlist soldiers in his dominions; which last favor, indeed, he did not withhold from their adversaries ¹⁸.

Aug.

In the month which followed the signature of this treaty, the siege of Ostend, in the defence of which the English auxiliaries, under Sir Francis Vere and

16. Parl. Hist. vol. v.

17. Memoires de Sully.

18. Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii.—Depeches de Beaumont.

other

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other gallant officers, acquired immortal honor, was brought to a close ; the garrison and inhabitants being then reduced to the necessity of surrendering to the Spaniards, from whom, however, they obtained honorable terms. This siege was distinguished by its extraordinary duration (which exceeded three years and two months), and by the martial skill and intrepidity both of the assailants and the defenders ¹⁹.

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To witness Philip's ratification of the peace, James sent into Spain the earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral of England, as his ambassador extraordinary ; and as the archduke Albert (who, in the right of his wife the infanta Isabella, acted as sovereign of the Flemish provinces) had been comprehended in the treaty, the earl of Hertford was dispatched to Brussels to receive the ratification of that court. Both these ambassadors were accompanied with a splendid retinue ; and when they had executed their respective commissions, Nottingham left Sir Charles Cornwallis as resident minister in Spain, and Hertford left Sir Thomas Edmonds in the same character at Brussels.

The late pacification gave great satisfaction to James, who flattered himself with the prospect of long tranquillity, when he was alarmed, amidst his indulgence of rural sports, with the intelligence of a most horrible conspiracy. The catholics of England bore with great impatience the disappointment of their fond hopes of enjoying a toleration under their new sovereign ; and the parliamentary confirmation of the former laws against them, strengthened by the king's declared resolution of enforcing those statutes, had inflamed the resentment of many bigoted individuals of their party to such a height of fury, that they revolved in their minds the most iniquitous schemes of diabolical

¹⁹. Letters of the Sydneys, vol. ii.—Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii.
vengeance.

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vengeance. Having in vain solicited the Spanish monarch to favor their views by an invasion of England, they formed the execrable design of destroying the king and his parliament, by means of gun-powder, at the opening of the session. The principal persons concerned in this project were, Robert Catesby, a man of considerable property; Thomas Percy, a relative of the earl of Northumberland; Sir Everard Digby, Ambrose Rookwood, Francis Tresham, Henry Garnet (superior of the English Jesuits), Robert and Thomas Winter, and John Grant. In the preceding year, Percy, who was a gentleman pensioner, had hired a house contiguous to the old palace at Westminster; and had also procured the use of a vault or cellar under the house of lords, on pretence of employing it as a receptacle of wood and coals. Guy Fawkes, a soldier of fortune, who, under a borrowed name, acted as the servant of Percy, secretly conveyed into this vault, at different times, a considerable quantity of gun-powder, which he covered with a store of wood. This villain was destined to be the agent in firing the train; and the time fixed for the dreadful operation was the 5th of November, to which day the parliament had been prorogued. It was proposed by the conspirators, that such of the royal family as should attend the king to the house of peers, should be seized, and that his eldest daughter Elizabeth, who was now in the tenth year of her age, and whom they might easily mould to their purposes, should be proclaimed queen²⁰.

There is no doubt that James and his vigilant minister, secretary Cecil (now earl of Salisbury), had a general suspicion of the sinister machinations of the

20. Wilson's Life of James, edit. 1653, p. 28, 29.—Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 170.

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catholics; but we have not sufficient grounds for concluding that they had any idea of the particular plot contrived by those malignant bigots, till one of the conspirators, influenced by a regard for the preservation of lord Monteagle, a young nobleman of the Romish persuasion, sent him an epistle, advising him not to be present at the approaching session of parliament, as "God and man had concurred to punish the wickedness of the times;" intimating, that "a terrible blow" would then be struck, and that those who should feel it would not see who hurt them; and observing that the danger would be over as soon as the receiver could burn the letter ²¹. Monteagle communicated this curious dispatch to the earl of Salisbury, who immediately consulted the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, on the subject; and, after some consideration of the expressions used by the writer, the idea of a sudden explosion suggested itself to them. The letter being produced before the king, he readily concluded that the blow was intended to arise from powder; and directions were given to the chamberlain, to search every part of the parliamentary building. Having delayed this search till the day before the appointed opening of the session, Suffolk, accompanied by Monteagle, commenced the execution of the royal commands. On entering the vault, the earl inquired to whom the wood belonged; and when the name of Percy, a known papist, was mentioned, both he and his companion were inclined to believe that this was the spot from which the danger, if not prevented, would originate. These observations being imparted to the king and the secretary, it was resolved that Sir Thomas Knevet, steward of Westminster, should repair to the vault, with some attendants, about

21. Wilson, p. 30.—Winwood, p. 171.

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midnight, and, on pretence of searching for articles which had been stolen, should remove the wood. As soon as Knevett had reached the place, he met Fawkes, whom he instantly seized, and in whose pocket were found matches and other requisites for the execution of his infamous purpose. The barrels of powder being discovered on the removal of the billets, Sir Thomas ordered Fawkes to be bound as a delinquent. With a stern and fearless countenance, the prisoner avowed the project, and declared that it would infallibly have been executed on the following day, had not a discovery intervened. Being examined before the privy council, he expressed his regret for the failure of a scheme which his perverted conscience represented as meritorious; and refused to gratify the assembly with the disclosure of the names of his accomplices. But, after a confinement of a few days, he relaxed in his firmness, and confessed various particulars with respect to himself, Percy, and other members of this flagitious confederacy ²².

Percy, who had hastened from the north to superintend the operations of Fawkes, was no sooner informed of the search made by the lord-chamberlain, than he fled into Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby had fixed a hunting-match near Dunchurch, with a view of assembling his friends for the seizure of the princess Elizabeth, who resided at the seat of lord Harrington in that county. This design having transpired, the princess had been conveyed to the city of Coventry; and the conspirators, alarmed at the discovery of their machinations, endeavoured to rouse the whole catholic party to arms. But their seditious efforts were fruitless; and the provincial gentlemen

²². Winwood, vol. ii. p. 171, 172. — Wilson, p. 31. — Works of King James I.

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marching against them with a body of the militia, the insurgents were greatly discouraged, as their force did not exceed 100 horsemen. Lord Montjoy, who had distinguished himself by his exertions against the Irish rebels near the close of the late reign, and whom the king, at his accession, had created earl of Devonshire, was ordered to advance with an armed *corps* against Digby and his associates; but, before he commenced his expedition, the malcontents were driven out of Warwickshire, and, some of them being taken prisoners, the rest fled for refuge to the house of Sir Stephen Littleton, in the county of Stafford. Here they were besieged by the high sheriff of Worcestershire; and, a part of their stock of powder taking fire by accident, several of the chief conspirators were so injured by the explosion, as to be disabled from the proper use of their weapons. Being rendered desperate by their situation, they furiously sallied out; and, in the skirmish which ensued, Catesby (who is said to have been the original proposer of the scheme of blowing up the king and parliament), Percy, and some others, lost their lives. Digby, Grant, Rookwood, and many of their confederates, were secured, and sent to the metropolis²³.

Nov. 9.

After the former prorogation had been extended for a few days, the parliament assembled; and the king, in a prolix harangue, congratulated the two houses on the providential discovery of the late conspiracy, made various remarks on the most prominent features of it, reprobated the unnatural barbarity of the traitors who had planned it, discoursed of the nature and duties of parliaments, and recommended to his hearers a vigilant attention to the tranquillity and

23. Winwood, vol. ii. p. 172, 173.—Wilson, p. 31.—Account of the Gunpowder Plot, published by authority.

welfare of the nation. The royal speech was followed by an immediate prorogation to the first month of the next year.

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It was concluded by many of the English, that the conspirators had received private encouragement from the court of Spain, or that of Bruffels; and while the uncommon eagerness of the former to remove all grounds of suspicion rather augmented than allayed the freedom of censure, the reluctance of the latter to the surrender of two fugitives who had been concerned in the plot did not promote the purposes of exculpation²⁴. James, however, either was, or affected to be, so fully convinced of the innocence of those courts, that he cautioned his subjects, in his late speech as well as in a proclamation, against that asperity of remark which would throw on any foreign princes or states the odium of having encouraged so execrable a treason.

When the parliament re-assembled, some members of the lower house proposed that the traitors should be tried before the king and the two houses, and that some extraordinary punishment should be inflicted on them²⁵; but these propositions were over-ruled; and several noblemen and judges were commissioned to try the delinquents. Sir Everard Digby, whose general character and deportment had procured him the respect of the community, pleaded guilty to the indictment, and was condemned to the usual punishment of treason. Fawkes, and six others, were tried and convicted; and these, with Sir Everard, suffered the sentence of the law. Garnet, the Jesuit, who had removed the doubts of the conspirators, by assuring them of the

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1606.

Jan. 37.

24. Winwood, vol. ii. p. 173, 183, 189.
Hist. vol. v. p. 144.

25. Parliam.

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propriety of the deed, was brought to his trial, pronounced guilty, and executed in the spring, to the great indignation of his brethren, who enrolled this infamous bigot among the martyrs of their religion. Several others who had concurred in the plot were put to death in the provincial towns²⁶.

This horrid conspiracy increased the detestation in which the protestants held the Romish faith, as it convinced them that any enormity, however flagitious, would be countenanced and recommended by the priests of a corrupt and intolerant system, when directed against the followers of other doctrines. In the mind which reflects on so black a treason, emotions of regret must arise, that the purity of religion should be so debased by the dregs of superstition, as to give way even to a temporary oblivion of that philanthropy which nature and reason so strongly inculcate.

To express their gratitude to Heaven for the fortunate discovery of the late plot, the commons passed a bill for the appointment of an annual thanks-giving on the 5th of November; and it met with the ready assent of the peers and of the sovereign. This act was followed by the attainder of the conspirators, and by two new statutes against popish recusants. But that bill which was most pleasing to the king contained the grant of a supply. It was at first proposed that only two subsidies and four fifteenths should be allowed; but, after some debate, the commons agreed to augment that grant by an additional half. Many of the members wished to delay the bill of supply till they had secured a redress of public grievances; but the majority resolved to postpone all demands of that nature. During this session, an ill-founded report arose

26. Wilson, p. 31.—State Trials, vol. i.—Continuation of Stow.

that

that the king had been assassinated; and from the general terror and anxiety which it produced, it appeared that James was by no means unpopular²⁷.

A. D.
1606.

After a session of four months, the parliament was prorogued to the autumn; and, in that interval, the lords Mordaunt and Stourton, whose absence from the house had concurred, with their attachment to popery, to render them objects of suspicion, were accused of having been privy to the gun-powder plot; and the court of star-chamber subjected them to heavy fines. The earl of Northumberland, who had been seized at the first discovery of the plot, on account of his consanguinity with Percy, was now mulcted to the amount of 30,000 pounds, for having admitted that delinquent into the band of pensioners, without exacting from him the usual oaths. This severity not being deemed sufficient, the earl was detained for many years in the Tower²⁸.

When James had been entertained with the congratulations of the kings of France and Spain, and other European potentates, who sent ambassadors extraordinary to express an exterior joy at his escape from the machinations of treason, he was more agreeably complimented by the personal appearance of his brother-in-law the king of Denmark, who, under the escort of seven ships of war, sailed through the German ocean to the Thames, and was met near Gravesend by the British monarch and his eldest son, who conducted him to the palace of Greenwich. The royal guest was gratified for several weeks with a succession of banquets, tournaments, hunting-matches, masques, and every other amusement which the taste of his sister (who was fond of courtly splendor and gaiety), or the

27. Parliam. Hist. vol. v.—Wilson, p. 32.
Jac. I.—Wilson, p. 33.

28. Camd. Ann.

A. D.
1606.

profuse politeness of her consort, could devise. At his departure, he testified his satisfaction by liberal donatives, particularly by the present of one of his men of war.

Nov. 18.

At the next meeting of parliament, James, in the harangue with which he opened the session, warmly recommended the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland to the consideration of the assembly. He expatiated on the advantages that would result to both nations from the proposed coalition, which, he said, would augment the power, prosperity, and security of each, convert the present jealousies into a permanent concord and friendship, and render Great-Britain more capable of supporting her friends, and more formidable to her enemies. The commissioners who had been appointed to draw up articles of union now made their report; and this important topic produced violent debates in both houses²⁹. The prejudices of the English against their ancient foes, and their apprehensions lest the chief benefits of the union should accrue to the latter, steeled them against all sense of the true interests of the consolidated monarchy of Britain; and, though James, when his parliamentary subjects re-assembled after the winter recess, exerted all his eloquence in refuting the objections which had been made to his favorite scheme, and detailing the advantages of the measure, they were still refractory. The efforts of the earl of Salisbury and other ministers in the upper house, and the splendid talents of Sir Francis Bacon in the lower, could not lead the legislature into any further steps towards the incorporation, than the abolition

A. D.
1607.

29. In one of these debates, Sir Christopher Pigott, member for Bucks, reviled the Scots in the most scurrilous terms. The king having expressed his displeasure at such indecency of language, the commons expelled the offender from their house, and imprisoned him in the Tower; and, though he soon recovered his liberty, he was not restored to his seat. *Parl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 178—181.

of all laws which had been enacted to the prejudice of the Scots.

A. D.
1607.

Strong complaints were made by the merchants, in this session, with regard to the outrages and barbarities committed by the Spaniards against English traders; but the petition which they presented to the king and parliament met with little attention; for James was too studious of the cultivation of peace with Spain, and too eager for a marriage between prince Henry and one of the daughters of Philip, to make such remonstrances as might give disgust to that monarch.

It ought not to be omitted, that, in the earlier part of this session, the king delivered answers to a list of grievances presented by the commons. Some of these objects of complaint he declared to be undeserving of censure; others he promised to redress; and he left some to the decision of the courts of law.

While the king was harassed by the opposition of the parliament to his scheme of union, he felt some alarm at the news of a provincial insurrection. A temporary discontent arising in the minds of many of the inhabitants of Northamptonshire, who complained of the abridgment of their right of common by the multiplicity of enclosures, they assembled in considerable numbers, and destroyed the fences of the land-holders. The rustics of the shires of Leicester and Warwick engaged in the same riotous measures. Regardless of the proclamations which the king issued against them, they continued their outrages till the sheriffs of the respective counties quelled them by force of arms. Some of their leaders were tried, condemned, and put to death; and James, too humane to countenance the multiplied horrors of indiscriminate execution, then sheathed the sword of justice ³⁰.

30. Continuation of Stow. — Camd. — Ambassades de M. de la Boderie.

A. D.
1607.

The concerns of the king's Dutch allies now demand our renewed attention. Weary of a long war, the states were inclined to listen to the pacific propositions of their enemies. The king of Spain, finding his finances greatly reduced by unsuccessful hostilities, and the commerce of his subjects exposed to continual losses and interruptions, testified a desire of accommodation; but the idea of relinquishing the sovereignty of the Dutch provinces wounded the indignant feelings of Spanish pride. Had the states been willing to recognise the sovereignty either of Philip or the archduke, they might long before have obtained very favorable terms of peace; but their love of independence could not brook the thoughts of submitting to a revival of claims which they had long exploded. Albert now making fresh offers of peace, they declared that they would not treat with any prince who arrogated a power or jurisdiction over them. Their pertinacity in this respect being invincible, he and Isabella consented to sign an instrument, importing a dereliction of all pretensions to a superiority over the United Provinces. The states then agreed to a suspension of hostilities by land for eight months; a measure which gave some surprise to the kings of Great-Britain and France, who had not received from their confederates a previous intimation of it. James remonstrated with them on their breach of treaty, in having entered into an agreement for a truce without his consent. They apologised by mentioning the shortness of the time allowed them by the archduke for giving a determinate answer on the subject of the armistice. The king was sensible of the fallacy of this pretext; but when Sir Noel Caron, their ambassador at his court, assured him of their intention of sending over deputies to explain the motives of their conduct, and learn his senti-
ments

ments with regard to a future negotiation with their adversaries, his displeasure subsided; and he refused to attend to the proposals of the French monarch (who exhorted him to counteract the conclusion of a peace between Spain and the United Provinces), till he should have given audience to the Dutch envoys whom he expected. When he had conferred with these ministers, he empowered Sir Richard Spencer to co-operate with Sir Ralph Winwood, his resident in Holland, in a negotiation with the states. Henry had lately sent ambassadors to the Hague to propose either a renewal of the war with the Spaniards, or a peace of which he and James should be guarantees. The Dutch expressed a strong reluctance to a revival of hostilities, unless the two kings would declare open war against Spain; but this proposition was declined. After some months of negotiation, Henry concluded a treaty with the states, purporting that he should assist them in procuring an honorable and advantageous peace, and defend them against all who should infringe it; while they stipulated to furnish him with aid, in case of an invasion of his realm. This league was succeeded by another of the same kind between James and the states; and the latter, thus supported, flattered themselves with the prospect of a beneficial peace³¹.

A. D.
1607.A. D.
1608.
Jan.

June.

The pacific inclination of the catholic monarch having at length subdued his pride, he consented to ratify the short truce which the archduke had made, and to relinquish all sovereignty over the Dutch provinces. By gratifying the states in this favorite point, he imagined that he might prevail on them to recede from their demand of a free trade to the Spanish settlements in the Indies, and to tolerate the Romish re-

31. Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii.—Ambassades de M. de la Boderie.—Rym. Fed.

A. D.
1608.

ligion in their territories. Though he was disappointed in these respects, he directed the archduke to conclude a long truce with the states; a measure which he preferred to a regular peace, from an idea that it left him more at liberty to revive his pretensions to the sovereignty of the United Provinces. After various disputes between the negotiators deputed by the archduke, and those who were employed by the states, a treaty was adjusted for a truce of twelve years. By this convention, Albert renounced, for himself, Isabella, and the king of Spain, all authority and jurisdiction over the states; and a free commerce was allowed between the subjects of the contracting parties³². Thus did the Dutch, by their courage, ability, prudence, and perseverance, establish themselves as an independent republic, after a long and vigorous contest with the potent monarchy of Spain.

A. D.
1609.
Mar. 29.

Some French writers, desirous of giving Henry IV. the chief merit of the truce which he and James mediated for the states, have affirmed that the British monarch was inclined to desert the interest of his Belgic confederates, for whom he did not wish to procure the independence which they desired; and that he assured the king of Spain that he would not support them in that claim: but the state papers of the times refute these assertions³³.

32. Winwood, vol. iii.—Negotiations de Jeannin, vol. iv.

33. Winwood, vol. ii.

C H A P. II.

The king takes prudent measures for the settlement of Ireland.—He is assailed by parliamentary remonstrances.—He concludes an alliance with the court of France.—He enters into a league with the protestant princes of Germany.—He loses his eldest son Henry.—He marries his daughter Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine.

THE aspect of tranquillity which Ireland exhibited at the time of Elizabeth's decease was soon clouded by the prognostics of a storm. The intrigues of the papists produced, in some of the principal towns of that kingdom, not only an opposition to the proclamation of the lawful heir of the defunct princess, but seditious attempts for the re-establishment of the Romish worship. But the activity and vigor of lord Montjoy, whom James had confirmed in the Hibernian government, prevented these commotions from rising to an alarming height. He marched from Dublin at the head of an army, intimidated the inhabitants of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and other towns, into submission, and, having punished some of the insurgents, gratified the remainder with a general indemnity. He soon after embarked for England, accompanied by the earl of Tyrone, whose turbulent spirit had given such anxiety to Elizabeth¹,

A. D.
1609,

As some new regulations appeared to be necessary for securing to Ireland a permanent tranquillity, James turned his early attention to this important point. For the accomplishment of so desirable a pur-

¹, Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii.

A. D.
1609.

pose, he conceived that the abolition of the ancient customs of the Irish, and an extension of the English laws to every part of their island, would be the most efficacious modes of procedure. Among the circumstances which occasioned so long an interval to elapse from the nominal conquest of Ireland by Henry II. till that country was completely subdued, a well-informed writer² has enumerated the neglect of the original English invaders, in suffering the Irish to enjoy the retreats of their woods and mountains, instead of driving them into the open country; the connivance of the former at the continuance of the barbarous customs of the latter; the arrogant and injurious treatment which the natives received from the strangers; and the voluntary adoption of the Irish modes of life and government by many of the descendants of the English colonists, prompted by views of tyranny and independence. Reflecting on the arbitrary power exercised by the chieftains of the island, on the insecurity of the property of individuals, and on the various inconveniencies which they suffered from the low state of the arts among them, we should be inclined to wonder at the long acquiescence of the Irish plebeians in their original habits, did we not consider the force of prejudice, aided as it was in this instance by the absurd conduct of the English.

James commenced the reformation of his Hibernian dominions by abolishing the injudicious customs which had long precluded the blessings of national improvement. Having thus removed the reliques of rude antiquity, he erected a modern structure of more regular workmanship, and established the more commodious fabric of English law, polity, and civilisation. He obliged all the chieftains to surrender their lands

2. Sir John Davies, attorney-general of Ireland in the reign of James I.

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1609.

to the crown, that, in restoring them, he might subject the possessors to such rules and restrictions as might prevent them from continuing their former career of tyranny and extortion. He granted to the natives all the privileges enjoyed by the English; he gave them the benefit of impartial justice; he allured them to the cultivation of the useful arts of life; and he neglected no step which he deemed conducive to the improvement of the Hibernian territories, and the increase of the welfare and felicity of the inhabitants³.

The earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Macguire, O'Cahan, and other Irish chiefs, were so displeased at the diminution of their power, in consequence of the regulations of James, that they entered into a conspiracy against the English colonists, and sent agents to the continent to solicit the aid of the catholic powers. Their intrigues being detected, they made their escape out of their native country, and took refuge in the popish courts⁴. Soon after their retreat, Sir Cahir O'Dogharty, an enterprising youth, inflamed with the spirit of independence, and with a strong animosity against the English, which he had for some time concealed under the appearance of friendly submission, rose in arms, and massacred the garrisons of several forts; but he was slain before he had received the foreign succours which he expected; and his death put an end to the rebellion. Some of his adherents were executed as traitors; and the confiscations which resulted from his rash enterprise, and from the late attempts of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, furnished James with an opportunity of promoting the general benefit of Ireland by the plantation of new colonies. The dis-

3. Discovery of the Causes why Ireland was not sooner subdued, &c. by Sir John Davies.

4. Ambassades de M. de la Boderie.—Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, ad annum 1607.

A. D.
1609.

ferent rebellions of the Irish against Elizabeth had produced ample forfeitures; and that princess had distributed a great part of these acquisitions among the English, several of whom had made some progress in the arts of colonial and agricultural improvement. A considerable part of the province of Ulster having now devolved to the crown, in consequence of the treasonable conduct of the proprietors, James resolved to allot the lands to such of his subjects as would undertake, on certain conditions, the formation of a regular settlement. That no person might receive a larger portion than he could conveniently plant, the greatest share was fixed at 2000 acres. The *undertakers* (as they were called) were respectively required to build a strong castle, if they engaged for the largest shares; or a substantial house, for a middle share; or, for the smallest portion, a *bawn* or fortified court. Their tenants were directed to build houses near the castle or principal mansion, for the purposes of mutual protection. The king consented to furnish them, *gratis*, for the first two years, with as much timber as would be requisite; and, for their further encouragement, he permitted them, for the space of five years, to import into Ireland, from any part of Great-Britain, materials for building and husbandry, cattle, and all kinds of provision, without the payment of customs; and also to export, for seven years, on the same easy terms, such commodities as the lands now distributed should produce. These proposals occasioned numerous applications from the enterprising inhabitants of Great-Britain; and the Irish being allowed to join in the scheme, the shares were quickly appropriated.

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The citizens of London engaged with alacrity in the colonial project. A party of them entered into a society, which was incorporated under the title of

“ The

"The Governor and Assistants of the new Plantation of
"Ulster." Under their auspices, the town of Derry
was rebuilt; and it received, from its new founders,
the appellation of London-Derry. Well-built towns
began to appear in different parts of Ulster; agricul-
ture and manufactures soon flourished in districts
which had hitherto been the seats of indolence and
barbarism; the spirit of commerce was introduced;
and, by the institution of free-schools, the advantages
of education were disseminated. The success of the
Ulster plantation encouraged the king to establish co-
lonies in the province of Leinster; and, from his lau-
dable attention to the affairs of Ireland, that kingdom,
instead of being a burthen, became a valuable appen-
dage to the crown of Great-Britain⁵.

While James was taking measures for the beneficial
culture of his Hibernian realm, he promoted the coloni-
zation of such parts of North-America as had been dis-
covered by navigators in the English service. Virginia
being represented to him as an excellent situation for a
colony, and the attempts to plant it in the late reign
having failed only for want of proper encouragement, he
had incorporated two companies⁶ for a renewal of the
schemes of plantation. The adventurers made a good
use of the powers with which they were furnished;
and, in the third year after their voyage, the king sent
over 400 men to reinforce the colony⁷. He soon after
dispatched another supply; and the Virginian settle-
ment, the first which the English planted in America,
gradually attained a state of respectability. New-

5. Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii.—Harris's *Hibernica*.

6. In the year 1606.

7. Sir George Somers, who
sailed from England with a part of this reinforcement, was wrecked in
the neighbourhood of the Bermudas; and this accident gave occasion
to the foundation of a British colony on those islands.

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foundland was the next object of James's attention; and he encouraged the earl of Northampton and other persons of distinction to colonise that island; a scheme in which they engaged with a company of merchants. The fisheries on that coast were soon rendered subservient to the increase of commerce, and became an useful nursery of seamen.

Prompted by the same spirit of commercial improvement, James, about this time, granted a new charter to a company which his predecessor had erected for the prosecution of discoveries in India, and the establishment of a regular traffic with the inhabitants of that opulent region. The additional privileges which the members of this society obtained from the king, stimulated them to cultivate, with redoubled ardor, the advantages of oriental intercourse.

Feb. 9.

The earl of Salisbury, the able and indefatigable minister of James, promoted the colonial and commercial views of his sovereign, not only by his advice, but by occasional contributions from his private purse. This nobleman had succeeded the earl of Dorset in the office of high treasurer; in which capacity he gave an account of the king's debts and disbursements, in a parliament which now assembled after an interval of near three years. Among other particulars, he stated the very considerable debt in which the crown had been involved at the accession of James, a great part of which he had paid; the expences attending the military establishment in Ireland, and the suppression of O'Dogharty's revolt; the inadequacy of the king's revenue to his ordinary expenditure; and the necessity of making a due provision for his offspring, particularly for his eldest son, who was on the point of receiving a solemn investiture of the dignity of prince of Wales. On these grounds, the treasurer, in a conference

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rence between the lords and commons, requested a present supply to the amount of 600,000 *l.* and a permanent grant of 200,000 *l.* *per annum*. To promote a compliance with these demands, he promised, in the king's name, a redress of grievances. The commons wished to be previously informed what specific retribution his majesty would make them; but the minister representing it as disrespectful to the sovereign to demand from him the prior mention of conditions, they agreed to give a general assurance of their inclination to relieve his necessities⁸.

The grievances first stated by the commons were such as arose from the reliques of the feudal system. They were particularly desirous of the suppression of wardships; but they were unwilling to offer the king a reasonable compensation for the dereliction of that branch of power and profit. Frequent debates took place on this head, various communications passed between the king and the parliament, and repeated conferences were maintained between the upper and lower house; and it was at length agreed, that, if his majesty would abolish wardship and purveyance, banish informers, demand no old debts, claim no lands which had been sixty years out of his possession, consent that all his patents should be interpreted more favorably for the subject than for himself, and grant some other requests, a perpetual annuity of 200,000 *l.* should be settled on him and his heirs⁹. The means of providing for this revenue seemed to require so much deliberation, that the final adjustment was deferred till the next session.

In addition to the points which the king agreed to give up in return for the proposed annuity, he grati-

8. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 123—125.—Parliam. Hist. vol. v.

9. Winwood, vol. iii. p. 194.—Parl. Hist. vol. v.

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1610.

fied the commons in some less important objects concerning which they had remonstrated. But his concessions did not content them; and the displeasure which they felt at his refusal of some of their demands, exceeded the satisfaction which they received from his acquiescence in others.

The discretionary powers and arbitrary proceedings of the high commission court having produced a remonstrance from the commons, the king justified the institution, and declined all innovations in it, though he promised to attend to any complaints which might be made against particular abuses in the practice of that court. The house having also complained of the frequency of royal proclamations, and of their being carried to an extent unwarranted by law, he consented to subject his past edicts of this kind to the revision of the privy-council and the judges, and declared that none should be issued in future but such as were consistent with the laws of the realm, and were authorised by precedents derived from the happiest times of the English government ¹⁰.

Another circumstance of which the commons complained was the king's augmentation of the customs without the consent of parliament. He alleged, in answer to their remonstrance on this head, that he only followed a practice which many of his predecessors had observed; that the great increase in the value of commodities had rendered it necessary to alter those rates which were proportioned to an ancient valuation; and that the principal merchants had assented to the alterations which he had made. He desired that they would abstain from debating his right of imposing taxes on articles of commerce; but they persisted in

10. Parl. Hist. vol. v.

asserting

asserting the parliamentary right in opposition to that which he arrogated ¹¹. DA. .
1610.

The zeal of the commons for liberty and privilege prompted them to make vehement complaints of the dangerous doctrines advanced by a civilian named Cowel, whose definitions of political terms, in a juridical dictionary called the Interpreter, were more consonant with the code of Justinian than with the maxims of the English constitution. James affirmed, that, whatever might be his private opinion concerning the extent of the royal prerogative, or the principles of the civil law, he did not wish to infringe the municipal laws and peculiar customs of the realm; and he consented to suppress Cowel's book by proclamation ¹².

The reluctance of the lower house to the grant of a supply, and the successive remonstrances which the king received, induced him to send for both houses to White-hall, that he might influence their feelings by his powers of rhetoric. But his harangue was not calculated to soften the spirit of opposition; for he elevated the regal power to a height which disgusted all the friends of liberty ¹³. Though he endeavoured to remove the apprehensions which his subjects might conceive of his practising the arbitrary doctrines which he asserted, by disclaiming all intentions of governing by any other maxims than those which were justified by law, his avowed theory confirmed that jealousy which had been long entertained of him. May 21.

¹¹. Id. *ibid.*—Winwood, vol. iii.
vol. iii.—Parl. Hist.

¹². Winwood,

¹³. Winwood, vol. iii. p. 175.—Wilson, the historian of this reign, has been accused by the author of the Parliamentary History of inventing a speech on this occasion, to blacken the memory of James; but the most exceptionable part of it, that which relates to the prerogative, is confirmed by an account which a friend of Sir Ralph Winwood wrote to him at the time. The censure, therefore, is ill-founded.

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Though the king earnestly entreated the commons to recruit his exhausted finances, two months elapsed between this speech and the enactment of a bill of supply; and the whole grant scarcely exceeded 100,000 pounds, exclusive of a contribution from the clergy.

July 23. He then, by a prorogation, dismissed the parliament with a moderate answer to some complaints of the lower house ¹⁴.

In the midst of these parliamentary proceedings, the king was apprised of the death of his illustrious ally, May 4. Henry IV. of France, who was assassinated in his metropolis by a bigoted ruffian named Ravaillac ¹⁵. Such a prince merited a better fate. He possessed a happy mixture of great accomplishments and amiable qualities. At the time of his murder, he was preparing for a military expedition, under the pretence of rescuing Juliers, a part of the inheritance of the house of Cleves, from the hands of the archduke Leopold; though there is reason to think that he aimed at a greater object, from the numerous army which he had levied, and from his desire of humbling the formidable power of the house of Austria, that a due balance might be preserved among the potentates of Europe. As James interposed in the dispute concerning the succession to the dominions of the duke of Cleves, some remarks on that head will not be superfluous. The elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Newburg claimed the whole inheritance; while the duke of Deux-Ponts, and the marquis of Burgaw, respectively demanded a fourth part of it. The emperor (Rodol-

¹⁴. During this session, prince Henry, on the 4th of June, received investiture of the dignity of prince of Wales. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence; and though he was only in his seventeenth year, he was put in possession of the revenues of that principality, as well as those of the dukedom of Cornwall and earldom of Chester.

¹⁵. Winwood, vol. iii. p. 158.

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phus II.) not only required that the territories of the deceased duke should be sequestered in his hands, but advanced a claim to the duchy of Juliers, which, he alleged, devolved to him for want of heirs male, the four competitors above-mentioned founding their pretensions on the right of females. He therefore directed Leopold to enforce the sequestration; but the generality of the inhabitants refused to submit to that measure. The archduke, however, found means to obtain possession of the city of Juliers; and, on the other hand, the elector and the duke of Newburg agreed to join in defending against all opposers the territories which they claimed, till the cause should be decided by arbitration. This agreement being notified to the king of Great-Britain, he declared, by a manifesto, his approbation of it, and his intention of promoting the amicable adjustment of the dispute. Leopold refusing to relinquish Juliers, the elector and the duke resolved to besiege that city; and James, finding it expedient to have recourse to arms, directed Sir Edward Cecil to join the two princes with 4000 British infantry. Henry IV. also engaged to assist them; and, as it was concluded that this was not his sole aim, it has been suspected that the court of Brussels, or that of Madrid, apprehensive of the designs of a warlike and ambitious monarch, instigated Ravaillac to the atrocious deed which he perpetrated. However that may be, Henry's widow, Mary de Medicis, who was appointed regent of France during the minority of her son Lewis XIII. supplied the German princes with a body of troops; and Juliers was invested by an army of Germans, French, English, Scots, and Dutch. The forces of James acquired great reputation by their gallant behaviour during the siege; and the place was soon

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Aug. 22.

obliged to surrender¹⁶. The contest for the succession, however, was not decided for many years; and, in the hostilities which passed between the elector and the duke of Newburg, the Dutch assisted the former, and the Spaniards the latter; till the two princes, weary of contention, agreed to a partition of the disputed inheritance. The queen-regent of France being inclined to a renewal of the alliance which subsisted between her deceased consort and his Britannic majesty, James readily acceded to the proposition; and a defensive league was quickly concluded between him and the young king. He was gratified, on this occasion, with the payment of 60,000 *l.* in part of the sum due to the crown of England from Henry IV.¹⁷

Oct. 16. When the English parliament re-assembled, little harmony prevailed between the king and the commons. The discussion of the proposal for a commutation of wardships, purveyance, &c. for a permanent annuity, was resumed without effect. From some observations contained in the epistle¹⁸ of a cotemporary (for the journals of the lower house, for this session, are lost), it is probable that James objected to several of the demands stated in the memorial concerning the *great contract* (as the above-mentioned proposal was styled); and that he wished to obtain considerable pecuniary assistance, without any material retribution on his part. The commons, however, peremptorily refused to grant any contribution without an adequate recompence; and when the king found them pertinacious in their disregard of his necessities, he dissolved the parliament by a proclamation, in which he threw out some re-

Dec. 31.

16. Winwood, vol. iii.
Fœd. vol. xvi.

17. Winwood, vol. iii.—Rym.
18. Addressed to Sir Ralph Winwood,
Dec. 1, 1610. *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 234.

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flexions on the incomplicant behaviour of his legislative subjects, who had frustrated his "expectation of a "good conclusion of some weighty causes, calculated "not only for the supply of his necessities, but for the "ease and freedom of his people;" and had rejected various proposals made by him, "far surpassing the "favors and graces of former times, both in nature and "value¹⁹."

Though the parliament refused to relieve the king's pecuniary wants, he was not the more disposed to cultivate the virtues of prudence and œconomy. He still indulged his habits of inconsiderate expenditure, and was still prodigal of his bounties to his countrymen and favorites. The chief object of his present regard was a North-Briton of the name of Carr, who had been one of his pages before his accession to the English throne, and who, after a continental tour, in which he had improved his exterior accomplishments, had presented himself at court, and met with a very favorable reception from James. As this monarch had a strong predilection for the society of men of graceful figure and other personal attractions, however contemptible they were in point of mental endowment, he was charmed with the appearance of Carr; and that aspiring youth cultivated the royal favor with such success, that he quickly attained an extraordinary degree of power, wealth, and influence. He procured some valuable grants of land; was promoted, on the death of the earl of Dunbar, who had long been considered as a favorite at court, to the office of treasurer of Scotland; was raised to the peerage, by the title of viscount Rochester; and dignified with the order of the Garter²⁰.

19. Continuation of Stow.
—Wilson's Life of James

20. Camd. Ann. Jac. I.

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While James thus displayed a weakness of partiality for an unworthy courtier, he exhibited strong symptoms of political jealousy, on hearing of the escape of his cousin, Arabella Stuart. He had been constantly apprehensive lest the mal-contents of his realm should make this lady the tool of their seditious intrigues; and she had so aroused his fears by giving her hand to William Seymour, who, like herself, was a descendant of the seventh Henry, that he had confined her in a private house, and sent the object of her choice to the Tower²¹. After she had been near a twelvemonth in custody, she escaped in disguise, and hastened to meet Seymour, who had, on the same day, artfully released himself from his imprisonment. It was their intention to retire to the continent; but Arabella did not accomplish her desire; for she was apprehended before her husband had joined her, and conveyed to the Tower. Seymour, notwithstanding a vigilant pursuit, consequent on a royal proclamation, arrived safely in Flanders. The king's illiberal jealousy detained Arabella a prisoner till her death, which happened four years afterwards.

James's political apprehensions were succeeded by religious inquietudes. Conrad Vorstius, a German divine, had been invited to Leyden to succeed the celebrated Arminius in the theological chair of that university. As the new professor not only supported the Arminian doctrine of free-will in opposition to the predestinarian system of Calvin, but entertained such other opinions as were deemed heretical and impious,

²¹. Winwood, vol. iii. p. 201.—Seymour was the son of Edward earl of Hertford (grandson of the protector Somerset), who, being the son of lady Catharine Grey, grand-daughter of Mary, the sister of Henry VIII. would, if the will of that monarch had been regarded, have ascended the throne of England in preference to James.

denying the immensity, infinity, immutability, and other attributes which the orthodox have assigned to the Deity, the zeal of the British monarch was so highly inflamed, that he commanded Sir Ralph Winwood to remonstrate with the states of Holland, in his name, against the encouragement of a wretch who merited exemplary punishment for his infamous heresies. The states not being disposed to regard the interference of James, he renewed his remonstrances, and intimated, that the toleration of such a *blasphemous monster* was incompatible with the enjoyment of his friendship. They promised to dismiss him; but did not take any steps for that purpose, till a repetition of the officious applications of their royal ally induced them to adopt a resolution of excluding the obnoxious divine from the professorship, and sending him to some obscure town in Holland, where he should be required to write against those heterodox tenets which he had advanced²². As he did not comply with this requisition, he was pronounced an heretic, some years afterwards, by the synod of Dordrecht, and sentenced to a perpetual banishment from the Dutch territories.

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Sir Ralph Winwood, who had acted with great spirit in the affair of Vorstius, was soon after employed in the prosecution of an object more consistent with his character than the speculations of religious dispute. For the support of the protestant interest, he was directed by James to conclude an alliance with the German princes of the evangelical union, who were desirous of strengthening themselves against the encroachments of the house of Austria. By this treaty, the king agreed to assist them against any attack with 4000 men, and to receive from them, in case of his sustaining any aggression, a moiety of that

22. Winwood, vol. iii. ad annos 1611 et 1612.

succour,

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succour²³. The chief of the allies whom he procured on this occasion, were the elector of Brandenburg, the elector Palatine, and the landgrave of Hesse.

Nov. 6.

The connexions of James with the German princes suggested the idea of marrying Elizabeth, his only surviving daughter, to one of his protestant confederates. The personage on whom he fixed his eye was Frederic V. elector Palatine, whose dominions were respectable and flourishing. This prince was pleased with the prospect of so honorable an alliance; and he sent ambassadors into England to adjust the terms of the match. Before it took effect, the king sustained an unfortunate diminution of his family by the decease of Henry prince of Wales, who was carried off by a fever in the nineteenth year of his age. The deaths of princes are frequently attributed to poison; and a strong suspicion arose that this amiable youth had fallen a victim, either to that hatred which the courts of Madrid and Bruffels bore to him for his conscientious attachment to the protestant faith, or to the resentment of the king's favorite, the viscount Rochester, whose character and proceedings had excited the disgust of Henry. But these surmises were contradicted by the physicians who attended the prince, and by the surgeons who opened his body, no appearances being observed that could give sufficient support to the rumor of poisonous applications²⁴.

Great were the expectations which the public entertained of this prince; and, from a review of his character, there is reason to conclude, that, had he lived to mount the throne, he would have exercised the functions of sovereignty with distinguished ability, judgment, and integrity. His apprehension was acute,

23. Winwood, vol. iii. p. 357.
Prince Henry.

24. Birch's Life of

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and his memory retentive; and while he enriched his mind with the treasures of multifarious knowledge, his desire of improvement was constantly and forcibly stimulated by his progressive attainments. To his skill in the *belles lettres*, he added an acquaintance with several branches of science; and to the learned and ingenious he was a liberal patron. He had great taste in the polite arts; and he encouraged those of more obvious utility. Being of a bold and active spirit, he had a propensity to martial exercises; and it is probable, that, in a time of war, he would have revived, by his own example, the remembrance of the glorious achievements of British prowess. His court was the resort of merit of every denomination; and visitants retired from his presence with lively sentiments of admiration, excited by his propriety of demeanor, his politeness, good sense, sincerity, magnanimity, and other virtues and accomplishments. Though generous and hospitable, he managed his revenues with a laudable oeconomy; and, though desirous of maintaining that magnificence which his dignified station demanded, he was averse to the superfluities of pageantry. He was modest, humane, temperate, just, and devout; and, by the great and good qualities which he displayed, he acquired both the esteem and affection of the people, who deplored his immature death as a national calamity.

The elector Palatine, eager for the possession of his destined bride, had arrived in England before Henry was attacked by his last indisposition; and, as the prince was a cordial approver of the match proposed for his sister, he treated Frederic with marks of high regard, and gratified the protestant stranger with his frequent society. The elector's grief for the death of an accomplished prince to whom he was on the point

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of being allied, was dissipated by the joy of his approaching nuptials, and by the successive festivities and diversions with which he was entertained. When he had continued near four months in England, he received

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in form the hand of the princess Elizabeth; and, in the following spring, he conducted his bride to his own dominions²⁵.

25. Camd. Ann. Jac. I.—Winwood, vol. iii.

C H A P. III.

James submits himself to the control of an upstart favorite.

—He contrives various means for the relief of his necessities.—He dissolves the parliament on account of the uncomplying spirit of the commons.—A new favorite appears at court.—The earl of Somerset falls into disgrace;—and is condemned for his concern in the death of Sir Thomas Overbury.—James restores the cautionary towns to the Dutch.—He endeavours to re-establish episcopacy in Scotland.—Sir Walter Raleigh makes an unsuccessful expedition to South-America;—and is beheaded after his return to England.

THE mind of James, though cultivated by learning, was neither strong nor judicious. It did not prevent him from fixing his affections on improper objects, or from resigning himself to the guidance of insinuating minions. The viscount Rochester had for some years been considered as a powerful favorite; but, while the earl of Salisbury lived, the superior ability and the great experience of that faithful minister repressed the complete establishment of the influence of the Scottish upstart. The earl's death, however, which happened a few months before that of the prince of Wales, left the ambitious viscount without control.

The elegant person of Rochester, concurring with the lustre of his prosperity, attracted the attention of the courtly fair; and the lady Frances Howard (daughter of the earl of Suffolk), who had been married at an early age to the young earl of Essex, fixed her amorous regards on the favorite of the sovereign. As the lady was beautiful and accomplished, the viscount returned her passion with equal ardor, and commenced a connexion

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nexion which ended in his disgrace. His most intimate friend was Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of learning and capacity, whose instructions had been useful in preparing him for the ministerial functions, and whom he employed as his assistant in the department of secretary of state; an office which Rochester discharged after the decease of the earl of Salisbury, without being formally invested with it. Having mentioned to Sir Thomas his affection for the countess of Essex, he promoted his intrigue by epistles of that gentleman's composition; but when he intimated a desire of procuring her divorce, that he might enter into a lawful union with one whose charms he now enjoyed by clandestine intercourse, he found his friend astonished at the imprudence of the scheme. Unconvinced by the dissuasive arguments of Overbury, he resolved to prosecute his purpose; and when, at his next interview with the countess, he informed her of the strong aversion which Sir Thomas had expressed to the project, and of the freedom with which he had spoken of her character, she was filled with rage and resentment, and urged her paramour to take vengeance on a false friend who so arrogantly opposed his wishes, reprobated his intentions, and vilified the object of his love. It was afterwards concerted between her and the viscount, that an embassy should be offered to Sir Thomas, which he should be advised by the favorite to decline; a refusal which the latter should so aggravate to the king, as to prevail on him to imprison the presumptuous knight. This contrivance was quickly adopted; and when Overbury had been sent to the Tower, the countess resolved to complete her revenge by the medium of poison. Her influence over her lover obtained his acquiescence in her flagitious proposal; and the earl of Northampton (her great-uncle) was so inflamed

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flamed with her representations of the supposed affront which Sir Thomas had offered to her family, that he did not scruple to promote his destruction. In the mean time, a suit was instituted by the countess for a divorce from her husband, whom she accused of impotence. The earl, who, after his return from his travels, had attempted to consummate his marriage, had found her unfriendly to his caresses; and, either from a natural frigidity, or a temporary one produced by her repulsive disgust, he did not perform the connubial duties. As he confessed that he had found himself impotent with regard to her, the delegates, after several hearings, pronounced the marriage null. Before the promulgation of this sentence, her agents had attempted to poison Overbury; but the strength of his constitution baffled for some months the successive efforts made for his destruction. On pretence of removing the bodily complaints which the infamous practices of his enemies had brought upon him, an empoisoned clyster was at length administered to him, which terminated his life in a few hours. Though his death gave rise to suspicion, the circumstances of it were not fully known to the public for a considerable time¹.

Sept. 15.

The compunction which the favorite could not but feel for the murder of his friend, was allayed by the smiles of his prince, the attractions of beauty, and the joys of increasing opulence. James, who had meanly interfered in the promotion of the divorce between the earl and countess of Essex, now encouraged the match which his minion so eagerly desired; and, when the viscount had been advanced by his deluded master to the dignity of earl of Somerset, he solemnised, with

1. State Trials, vol. i.

A. D. extraordinary splendor, his marriage with the partner
1613. of his guilt.
Dec. 26.

In concert with his father-in-law, the earl of Suffolk, who had succeeded the earl of Salisbury as high treasurer, Somerset proposed various means for the relief of the king's indigence, being confident of deriving, from the inconsiderate liberality of James, no small share of the public contributions. Titles of honor were sold to such as offered the highest price; particularly the new dignity of baronet, which had been instituted during Salisbury's administration². Considerable sums were procured under the idea of a benevolence or free gift; much greater sums were obtained by way of loan; several monopolies were granted; and other modes of recruiting the exchequer were devised and executed. But such was the king's want of œconomy, and so great was his burthen of debt, that these supplies were altogether inadequate to his exigencies. He therefore resolved to convoke a new parliament, and appeal to the generosity or justice of the legislature for his relief. When the two houses assembled, he endeavoured, by a long and elaborate speech, to conciliate their indulgence, allay their jealousy of his exertions of prerogative, and remove their reluctance to pecuniary grants. On the fifth day of the session, he delivered another harangue to his parliamentary subjects, in which he promised, for the supplies which he expected from them, such acts of retribution as might justly be deemed satisfactory. These concessions were contained in eleven bills, and principally related to the diminution of the charges and trouble of the subject in all concerns with the crown³.

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2. The pretence of establishing this hereditary title was for the promotion of the colonisation of Ulster by the sums which should be paid for an honor that so nearly approached to the peerage.

3. Parl. Hist. vol v.

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The commons treated the king's offers with contempt, and testified as incompliant a spirit as their immediate predecessors. They made mention of various grievances, without the redress of which, it was said, no supply would be granted. They particularly complained of the king's having advanced the customs without the concurrence of his parliament; a conduct which they represented as a gross violation of the principles of the constitution, and the privileges of the subject. They desired a conference on this head with the peers; but the latter, unwilling to enter into the discussion of a point which was likely to produce much altercation, declined the proposal. The bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Richard Neile) having opposed the desire of the commons in terms of asperity, they sent a message to the lords to demand satisfaction for the reflexions thrown out by the prelate. Having repeated their message, they were informed that the bishop had solemnly disclaimed all intentions of offence; and the dispute immediately ceased.

A report prevailed at the opening of the session, that the king's friends had been very active in their endeavours to influence the elections; and, though James denied that he had given the least countenance to any interposition of that kind, there appears to have been some truth in the rumor. Sir Thomas Parry, having been accused of promoting the election of such as were friendly to the court, was required to answer at the bar of the house for his irregular proceedings; and, on his non-appearance, he was punished with expulsion. A celebrated historian has ridiculed the jealousy evinced by the commons on this occasion, as arising from an ignorance of the principles of liberty⁴;

4. "So ignorant were the commons, that they knew not this incident to be the first infallible symptom of any regular or established liberty." *Hume*.

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but he did not consider that, though the exertion of such an influence argued the possession of some degree of freedom among the people, the increase of it might be attended with danger to public liberty.

June 7.

As the commons persisted in their resolution of securing a redress of grievances, particularly in the article of the customs, before the grant of a supply, James was so disgusted, that he signified to them, by their speaker, his intention of dissolving the parliament, if the question of a subsidy should not be discussed without delay. Perceiving that they were still resolute in opposing his wishes, he signed a commission for a dissolution, without giving his assent to a single bill^s. This was not the only mark which he exhibited of his discontent; for he singled out some of the leaders of the opposition, and committed them to prison, by way of punishment for what he considered as tumultuous and seditious behaviour^o. It may easily be conceived; from the increase of the spirit of liberty in that age, that the conduct of James, on this occasion, excited a high degree of public clamor.

The king was still under the direction of the earl of Somerset; but the haughtiness and rapacity of that nobleman, the envy which attended his extraordinary elevation, and the aversion of the English to the government of a North-Briton, produced a strong party against him. The queen and prince Charles having joined the phalanx of his enemies, he began to prognosticate his ruin, particularly as his guilty conscience tortured him with apprehensions of the discovery of his concern in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. His serious reflexions on so atrocious a crime threw a visible gloom over his spirits; a circumstance which

5. Camd. Ann. Jac. I.—Parl. Hist. vol. v.
Ann. Jac. I.

6. Camd.

gave some disgust to the king, who wished to observe a succession of mirth and pleasantry, mingled with occasional buffoonery, in the deportment of his companions. But the royal affection for him would have been longer retained, had not his adversaries brought forward a new object, calculated to make a forcible impression on the frivolous mind of James. This was George Villiers (a younger son of a respectable family, seated at Brokesby in Leicestershire); who, being possessed of the advantages of handsome features and a graceful person, the effect of which he studiously increased by the elegance of his apparel, struck the king with admiration at the first sight. James, however, felt some emotions of shame at his own levity; and though, in a few days after the first appearance of young Villiers at court, he admitted him to the office of cup-bearer, he declined the grant of any higher preferment to him till the queen should think proper to recommend him as a deserving object of the royal favor. Anne, who had long repined at the paramount influence of Somerset, was extremely desirous of the earl's removal from power; but, as she wished to enjoy a greater influence over her husband than she could have while he was the slave of a male favorite, she was unfriendly to the establishment of a new upstart on the ruins of the declining courtier. Her objections at length gave way to the solicitations of archbishop Abbot, and other enemies of Somerset; and she consented to intimate to the king, that the promotion of Villiers would not be displeasing to her. He affected to be guided by her request; and sending for the young cup-bearer, gratified him with the honor of knighthood, and ordered him to be enrolled among the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, to the great mortification of Somerset, who,

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as lord-chamberlain, was obliged to admit the rising favorite into his new office ⁷.

Notwithstanding the height of favor to which Villiers had arisen, the king so far dissimulated his intentions of shaking off the yoke of Somerset, that he still suffered that nobleman to direct the national affairs. But when Sir Ralph Winwood, now secretary of state, had procured some intelligence respecting the murder of Overbury, by the medium of an apprentice of that apothecary who had supplied the poison, the communication of the affair to the sovereign produced the disgrace of the guilty peer. The inferior delinquents were first apprehended; and the earl and his countess were afterwards taken into custody. One Weston was convicted of having administered the poison to Sir Thomas; and he was executed without delay. The apothecary (Franklyn), who had not only furnished the poison, but had assisted Weston in giving it to the unhappy prisoner, suffered death for his crime; as did also a widow named Turner, an active agent in the iniquitous schemes of the countess. Sir Gervase Elwes, lieutenant of the Tower, was also condemned and executed. After an interval of several months from the punishment of these offenders, the countess was arraigned before the high court of peers; and confessing her guilt, she received sentence of death. The earl was tried on the following day, and pronounced guilty of a capital felony ⁸.

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May.

From some expressions used by the king in the case of Somerset, in answer to the propositions of Sir Francis

7. Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. i. p. 456, 457.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 9, 10, edit. Oxon. 1707.—Life of George duke of Buckingham, by Sir Henry Wotton.

8. Camd. Ann. Jac. I.—State Trials, vol. i.

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Bacon ⁹ (then attorney-general), it may be conjectured that he was apprehensive of driving the earl to despair, lest he should divulge circumstances over which James wished to draw a veil. It has been supposed by malevolent writers, that this uneasiness arose from some concern which the king might have had in accelerating the death of his son Henry, of whom he is said to have been jealous; but, for so unnatural an idea, there is no foundation; and, if James really felt any perturbation of mind with regard to such disclosures as the earl might make, some political secrets, of a nature far less criminal, must have occasioned the alarm.

Some of the friends of Somerset were detected in an attempt to influence Weston to a retraction of what he had confessed to the earl's prejudice; and, for this offence, they were punished by fine. The confessions of the criminals would have brought Somerset's confederate, the earl of Northampton, into danger, had not this nobleman died before the discovery of the murder.

Though James is said to have imprecated the curse of the Omnipotent on himself and his posterity, if he should spare any of those who were found guilty of the murder of Overbury, he deviated from this solemn protestation in his treatment of the two principal delinquents; for he spared the lives of the earl and the countess, as if their rank, and the high favor which they had enjoyed under him, had rendered them more deserving of clemency than the subordinate agents in their nefarious projects. A formal pardon was granted to the countess within two months from her condemnation; but her husband was not released from the Tower till near six years afterwards ¹⁰. Out of the earl's forfeited estates (which were very ample, and of which the new favorite received no small share), a hand-

9. Cabala, edit. 1663, p. 53, 54.

10. Camd. Ann. Jac. I.

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some pension was allowed by the indulgent king to the disgraced courtier and his profligate wife, who survived, by many years, the ruin of their splendid fortunes and the wreck of their reputation, affording, by the obscurity and contempt in which they lived, and by the strong symptoms of mutual disgust which followed the violence of their former affection, a striking lesson in favor of moral rectitude, honor, and virtue.

The extinction of the power of the earl of Somerset established the influence of Villiers on a firm basis. This young minion continued to receive frequent marks of his sovereign's attachment. The employment of master of the horse was conferred on him; and he was admitted into the order of the Garter. His relatives, by his powerful recommendation, were gratified with honors and offices; and all who were desirous of preferment found it necessary to court the good graces of this fortunate youth. Whether his advice determined the king with regard to a measure which he now adopted, namely, the restitution of those towns which the states-general had delivered up to queen Elizabeth by way of security for her loans, we cannot ascertain; but it is probable, that, though this important point had been agitated in the cabinet before his appearance at court, the ultimate adjustment of it was promoted by his persuasions. The Dutch, as their republic increased in power and respectability, could not patiently submit to the restraint imposed on them by the continuance of British garrisons in three of their principal fortresses. They had frequently endeavoured to prevail on James to restore the cautionary towns for a valuable consideration; but he had hitherto resisted all their applications, though he was at length induced to comply with their reiterated desires. He reflected, that, out of the sum
of

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of 40,000 *l.* which the Dutch were bound to pay him annually, towards the liquidation of their debt to the crown of England, so much was required for the support of his garrisons in their territories, as reduced his receipts to 14,000 *l.*; that this small saving out of the annual payment, continued for many years, till the extinction of the debt, would not amount, in the whole, to that sum which the states now offered by way of final settlement; that the tardiness of their payments to the garrisons had produced strong complaints, and even desertion; and that, if he should not accede to their present proposal, they would probably take the first opportunity of recovering the towns by force. These considerations, strengthened by that indigence which rendered him eager for an immediate supply, prompted him to give his consent to the surrender of Flushing, the Brille, and Rammekens, into the hands of the Dutch, on the payment of 2,728,000 florins¹¹. The treaty was managed, on the part of James, by the lord-chancellor Ellesmere, the lord-treasurer Suffolk, and twenty other commissioners; and, on the part of the states, by Sir Noel Caron, their resident minister in England, and John Olden Barneveldt, a celebrated politician and patriot, who was afterwards sacrificed to the arbitrary views of Maurice, the warlike and ambitious prince of Orange.

The king's conduct on this occasion exposed him to the censure of many, who considered the premature dereliction of the cautionary towns as a weak and imprudent measure, which deprived him of the opportunity of influencing the political proceedings of the Dutch republic. But James was so pleased with the prospect of a considerable sum, that, if the measure had been more reprehensible than it really was, his cla-

¹¹, Rym. Fœd. vol. xvi.—Cabala, p. 206.

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morous necessities, and the desire of enriching the objects of his partiality, would have inclined him to the adoption of it.

At the time of the negotiations with the states, James found it expedient to interfere in a dispute between the courts of law and equity. An erroneous judgment having been given in the court of Common Pleas, the injured individuals had applied to the lord-chancellor for redress; and the defendants, who had gained the cause by sinister arts, were required to answer to a bill exhibited against them in chancery. Their refusal having occasioned an order from Ellesmere for their imprisonment, they appealed against this treatment; and Sir Edward Coke, chief justice of the King's-Bench, encouraged them to prosecute the chancellor, who, he said, was liable to a *præmunire* for having countenanced a suit in his court for the reversal of a judgment pronounced in a court of common law. Ellesmere complained to the king of the insult offered to his authority; and, when precedents had been adduced in favor of his conduct, James publicly reprimanded Coke and the judges who had abetted him, and strictly charged them to keep themselves within the line of their duty. The behaviour of the chief justice in this affair, as well as in a dispute concerning the grant of benefices *in commendam*, concurred with some insinuations which he had thrown out during the inquiries into the murder of Overbury, and with the king's disgust at his arrogant and self-interested character, to produce his expulsion from his judicial office; a disgrace which the favorite, who was personally offended with Coke, did not fail to promote. The chief justice, being summoned as a delinquent before the court of Star-chamber, was accused of having concealed the document of a debt due to the
crown

crown from the late Sir Christopher Hatton, of having reflected on his majesty by contemptuous expressions, behaved disrespectfully to the king and council in the controversy respecting livings *in commendam*, and treated the chancellor injuriously in endeavouring to subject him to a *præmunire*. For these offences he was deprived of his official dignity; but, in consideration of his knowledge and abilities, he was, in the following year, recalled from his retirement, to exercise the functions of a privy counsellor ¹².

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After these displays of prerogative, James prepared for a journey into Scotland, that he might exercise his authority in bringing the church of that realm to a conformity with the ecclesiastical system of England. As episcopacy was more consistent with his monarchical ideas than the presbyterian persuasion, which encouraged resistance to the kingly power, he had endeavoured, before his accession to the English throne, to re-establish in North-Britain the jurisdiction of prelates; but his influence had not been sufficiently powerful to procure from the kirk any higher concession than a recognition of the parliamentary privileges of bishops. When he had enlarged his empire by the splendid inheritance which devolved to him on the death of Elizabeth, his authority over his ancient subjects had received a considerable increase; and he had brought the Scottish clergy to an acquiescence in further demands for the benefit of the episcopal order. In the hope of completing his plan, he now re-visited his Scottish dominions, and held a parliament at Edinburgh, in which such opposition was made to a bill for giving the force of a law to any measure which might be settled by the king, the bishops, and a competent number of the ministers, that he agreed to relin-

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12. Camd. Ann. Jac. I.—Wilson's Life of James.

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quish it. In a meeting of some of the clergy at St. Andrew's, he urged them to adopt the practice of kneeling at the sacrament, to consent to the occasional administration of the communion and baptism in private houses, to celebrate the chief festivals, and suffer episcopal confirmation. They considered these points as too important to be hastily discussed, and requested James to convoke a general assembly of their brethren. This synod, however, did not meet till after his return to England; and, of the articles which he had proposed, only one was then admitted; but, in another council of the clergy at Perth in the succeeding year, an assent was given to the rest, though not without much popular reluctance ¹³.

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The expences of the king's northern journey, his splendid embassies, his profuse liberalities, and his neglect of keeping a vigilant eye over the conduct of the officers of the treasury, quickly consumed the produce of the late treaty with the states-general. Chagrined at so speedy a relapse into indigence, he instituted an inquiry into the management of his finances; and, in consequence of this investigation, a prosecution was commenced against the lord-treasurer Suffolk, who was accused not only of the embezzlement of a considerable part of the money which the Dutch had paid, but of the frequent practice of extortion. He was immediately dismissed from his office; but the cause was not heard till the following year. He was then sentenced by the court of Star-chamber to a fine of 30,000 *l.* and to an imprisonment of such duration as his majesty should think proper ¹⁴. Sir Francis Bacon (who, by his

¹³. Spotswood's Hist. of Scotland.

¹⁴. Camd. Ann. Jac. I.—Wilson. His countess, whose extortions had been one cause of his disgrace, was committed to the Tower with him. The king afterwards mitigated the fine to 7000 *l.*

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his promises of subserviency to the mandates of the court, and by mean submissiions to the favorite, had obtained the office of lord-keeper of the great seal on Ellesmere's resignation, and soon after procured the chancellorship and a peerage) eagerly promoted the disgrace of Suffolk; as did also Sir Edward Coke, who cherished a personal animosity against the treasurer, and who, being now restored to a seat in the privy council, conducted the prosecution against the accused minister. Sir John Bingley, an officer of the exchequer, who had acted as the earl's confederate, was also punished with fine and imprisonment.

Though James seems to have been as much influenced to these prosecutions by the private views of his favorite, as by motives of justice, the generality of the people expressed no displeasure at the disgrace of the treasurer. Far different were their sentiments with regard to the proceedings against Sir Walter Raleigh. After this great man had lingered in confinement near thirteen years, during which the public voice had cried loudly for his liberty, the king consented to release him¹⁵, with a view of giving him an opportunity of discovering a gold mine in Guiana, of the existence of which Sir Walter had confidently spoken. He had no sooner recovered his liberty, than he commenced his preparations for the expedition; and the high reputation which he bore for genius, ability, and courage, procured the speedy enlistment of many adventurers. The repayment of a considerable sum which he had lent, and the money arising from the sale of an estate belonging

About the same time, Sir Thomas Lake, one of the secretaries of state, fell into disgrace for having countenanced the calumnious charges brought against the countess of Exeter, whom his wife and daughter, from private pique, had accused of an attempt to poison them. He was deprived of his post, subjected to a heavy fine, and imprisoned.

15. In March 1616. *Camd.*

to

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to his wife, reinforced by the contributions of those who had a good opinion of the enterprize, enabled him to equip fourteen vessels. Having received a commission from the king, authorising him to visit such countries in America as were inhabited by heathens and savages, and establish a commerce with them for gold, silver, or any other valuable articles which he might find in their territories, he sailed from Plymouth¹⁶; and, after a voyage of several months, arrived off the island of Trinidad. As it was impracticable for the larger ships of his squadron to sail up the Oronoque, he directed captain Kemeis to proceed up that river with some of the smaller vessels, and endeavour to discover the mine which was to reward the labors of the adventurers. The friends of James, and the enemies of Raleigh, have pretended that the latter had no expectation of finding a mine, and that he had no other view, in broaching such a delusive report, than the hopes of repairing his ruined fortunes by the plunder of some of the Spanish settlements. But this seems to be an unjust representation; and various circumstances may induce us to believe that he was sincere. As he knew the extreme aversion of James to hostilities, he must have been convinced of the danger to which he should expose himself from that prince's resentment, if he should commence a war against the Spaniards, with whom the English were then at peace. He considered that nothing was so likely to recommend him to the regard of a necessitous monarch, as the discovery of a mine of gold; and that, if any hostilities should be committed against him during the enterprize, his endeavours to repel them would not only be justified on the principle of self-defence, but also by the consideration of his having taken possession of

16. In July, 1617.

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Guiana, in the name of queen Elizabeth, in an expedition which he made thither in the thirty-seventh year of her reign. It appears, that, in his return from that voyage, he brought with him some gold ore, which, he declared, he had found in Guiana. In his confidential communications, in which there is no reason to suspect him of dissimulation, he mentions the mine with every appearance of sincerity; and, from the great consternation which seized him when he was informed of the unsuccessful search of captain Kemeis for the mine, it is more probable that he really expected such a discovery, than that it was a mere pretence to impose on his sovereign, and procure an opportunity of pillaging the contemptible Spanish towns in the neighbourhood of the Oronoque. With regard to the enterprize of Kemeis, we find, that, when that officer had landed with his detachment near the spot where he supposed the mine to be situated, he was attacked by a body of Spaniards, and, having repulsed them, pursued the fugitives to San Thomafo. While the English were forcing their way into the town, Sir Walter's eldest son was slain; an event which inflamed the fury of his countrymen, who, though assailed on all sides by the garrison and the inhabitants, completed the reduction of the place, which they plundered and burned. In pillaging the governor's house, Kemeis found several letters which had been sent from Spain to the colony, containing an accurate statement of the number and burthen of Raleigh's vessels, his men, ordnance, &c. and of the whole scheme and destination of the armament, which, by the vigilance of the Spanish ambassador at the English court, had been communicated to his catholic majesty, who had sent early intelligence of the proposed enterprize to the governor of Guiana, with directions to put that colony

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in a posture of defence. Not dismayed by the preparations of the enemy, Kemeis proceeded in quest of the mine; but, happening to lose many of his followers in an ambuscade, and finding the rest inclined to despair of success, he thought proper to relinquish the dangerous search, and return to his commander, who was so chagrined at the failure of his hopes, at the news of his son's death, and at the prospect of being punished by his sovereign for the hostilities which his men had committed, that he severely reproached the captain for his neglect of the grand object of the voyage, and assured him that he would feel the chief weight of the royal displeasure. The feelings of Kemeis were violently agitated on this occasion; and he soon after, in a fit of despair, put an end to his own existence. The discontent of the adventurers now increasing to a great height, Raleigh prepared for his return to Europe ¹⁷.

A narrative of this expedition having been transmitted to England by one of Raleigh's officers, the king was alarmed with apprehensions of the resentment of the Spanish monarch for the destruction of one of his towns. Don Diego de Sarmiento (afterwards count of Gondomar), ambassador of Philip III. of Spain at the court of London, had acquired great influence over James, not only by his well-directed flatteries, and by his spirit of mirth and buffoonery, but by the zeal which he affected for the promotion of a marriage between one of Philip's daughters and Charles prince of Wales, the only surviving son of his Britannic majesty. This minister had no sooner been informed of the hostilities committed by the English in Guiana, than he remonstrated with James on the in-

¹⁷. Raleigh's Remains.—Wilson's Life of James.—Birch's Life of Raleigh.

sult offered to the court of Spain, prognosticated the disappointment of his hopes of a Spanish alliance, and terrified the unwarlike prince with the prospect of an open rupture between him and Philip. James readily concurred with the ambassador in reprobating the conduct of Raleigh, and declared his intention of punishing that commander for his infraction of the peace with Spain. He afterwards issued a proclamation to the same purport; and the friends of the gallant adventurer considered his fate as pre-determined.

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The unfortunate Raleigh having returned to England, Sir Lewis Stukely, vice-admiral of Devonshire, arrested him in the king's name; and, after a fruitless attempt to escape into France, he was lodged in the Tower. As James, prompted by a servile complaisance to the court of Spain, had resolved on his death, nothing remained to be adjusted but the mode of proceeding against him, whether by a new judgment or by an enforcement of his former sentence, for which the king had not granted him an express pardon. The judges gave it as their opinion, that, as the attainder against him still subsisted, it would be irregular to bring him to a new trial; and, though the lord-chancellor Bacon had assured him, before the commencement of his last voyage, that his commission, by giving him a power of life and death over others, virtually amounted to a pardon, he was now informed, when he advanced that plea at the bar of the King's-Bench, that treason could not be pardoned by implication. Execution was therefore awarded against him by the judges; and the king, with unfeeling haste, commanded that he should suffer decapitation on the subsequent morning¹⁸.

Aug. 9.

18. Camd. Ann. Jac. I. ad annum 1618.—Wilson's Life of James, p. 116, 117.—Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. i.

Sir

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Sir Walter encountered the terrors of death with a dignity and a fortitude which attracted the admiration even of his enemies; and the sacrifice of so illustrious a man on a sentence which had not only been illegal in the first instance, but had been, as it were, tacitly annihilated by a commission of high command, appeared to the public in a very reprehensible light, particularly when the ill-proved offence for which he had been originally condemned had been amply punished by the loss of his estates and an unusual length of imprisonment. The king's aversion to Raleigh seems to have first arisen from the knight's enmity to the late earl of Essex, and to have been strengthened and perpetuated by his proposal for limiting the authority of James on his accession; and it may perhaps have derived some additional asperity from the jealousy which this mean prince had conceived of Sir Walter's distinguished reputation in the world of literature, as well as of his manly and martial character.

C H A P. IV.

James eagerly courts a Spanish alliance for his son Charles.

—His son-in-law, the elector Palatine, is deprived of his dominions.—The English are desirous of engaging in a war for the re-establishment of that prince:—but the king endeavours to restore him by his negotiations with Spain.

—The lord-chancellor Bacon is impeached and disgraced.

—The king and the commons are involved in a violent contest.—He imprisons some of the members.—The

prince of Wales goes to Spain to promote his marriage;

—but, after his return, the negotiations for that purpose are broken off.—A British army is levied for the recovery of the Palatinate.—Death and character of James.

ON the premature decease of prince Henry, the same anxious attention with which James had endeavoured to procure for that youth the hand of a princess of France or of Spain (for he deemed the other kingdoms and states of Europe too inconsiderable to furnish a wife of sufficient dignity for the heir of the British empire), was diverted to the marriage of Charles, who succeeded to the splendid pretensions of his defunct brother. When the eldest sister of Lewis XIII. of France had been contracted to the son of Philip II. of Spain, James sought the second in marriage for prince Charles; but, after some negotiations, the two courts not agreeing on the terms, the affair was relinquished. A treaty was afterwards commenced for a match between Charles and the second daughter of Philip; and Sir John Digby, the ambassador of James, had lately returned from Spain with a favor-

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able account of the inclination of that court for the proposed connexion. His catholic majesty, sensible of the eagerness of James for this alliance, long held it out as a lure to fascinate the judgment of the British monarch, and prevent him from embarking in such measures as might be inconsistent with the political views of Spain and her popish confederates.

While this match was in suspense, the hopes of its completion, concurring with a strong repugnancy to the horrors of war, rendered James an inactive spectator of the ruin of his son-in-law Frederic, the elector Palatine. The civil and religious privileges of the Bohemians having been repeatedly infringed by the ministers who governed them in the name of their sovereign the emperor Matthias, discontent began to spread among them; and when their requisitions for the observance of their ancient constitution, as well as of the new edicts for a toleration of the reformed faith, had been treated with disregard, the protestant part of the

May.

community assembled in arms, took possession of Prague, and usurped the government of the kingdom. Matthias dying while the rebellion was yet raging, his cousin Ferdinand, who had been elected by the states of Bohemia, near two years before, as his successor in the sovereignty of that realm, endeavoured to reclaim the insurgents to submission; but they were so averse to the sway of a catholic prince, that they resolved to fill their throne with a protestant. Being encouraged in this resolution by many of their brethren in Moravia and the adjacent provinces, they disclaimed all subjection to Ferdinand (now emperor), and made choice of the elector Palatine for their king¹.

Aug.

The ambition of Frederic stimulated him to accept the offer of a crown; and, though he wrote to his fa-

1. Wilson's Life of James, p. 131, 132.—Rushworth, vol. i. ther-

ther-in-law for advice on so important a point, he intimated his acquiescence in the Bohemian election before he had learned the sentiments of James. This monarch was so far from being pleased with what Frederic regarded as a remarkable instance of good fortune, that he openly reprobated the inconsiderate conduct of the elector, who had not only encroached on the rights of royalty by encouraging the treasonable proceedings of rebels, but had involved himself in a war which would probably terminate in his ruin. Before he was apprised of the elevation of the Palatine to his new dignity, James had sent the viscount Doncaster to mediate between Ferdinand and the Bohemian male-contents; and he now renewed his interposition, by sending Sir Richard Weston and Sir Edward Conway with proposals of amicable adjustment; but his mediation proved fruitless ².

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Having engaged the support of the princes of the evangelical union, Frederic set out for Bohemia; and he was crowned at Prague in the autumn. But his enjoyment of his new sovereignty was of short duration. The emperor, the king of Spain, and other catholic potentates, made great preparations for attacking him; and, as he did not receive from his protestant friends a support adequate to the exigencies of his situation, he found himself unable to withstand the efforts of his enemies. A numerous army having penetrated to the vicinity of the Bohemian metropolis, a decisive engagement took place, in which the troops of Frederic were defeated with great slaughter ³. That prince and his British consort remained in the citadel of Prague during the conflict; but, as soon as they were informed of the alarming event, they hastily retired into Silesia,

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². Rushworth, vol. i.

Rushworth, vol. i.

³. Camd. Ann. Jac. I.—

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whence they proceeded to the Dutch territories. The terror of the victory produced a speedy surrender of Prague, as well as of the majority of the Bohemian towns.

Had the loss of Bohemia been the sole misfortune which Frederic sustained, he would have had little reason to complain of the severity of his fate. But the emperor, not content with the recovery of that kingdom, resolved not to desist from his hostilities till he should have deprived the unfortunate Palatine of his hereditary dominions. During the campaign in Bohemia, the celebrated Spinola, by the direction of the court of Madrid, had invaded the Palatinate with a strong army, and met with considerable success against the dismayed subjects of Frederic. Though James had refused to assist this prince as king of Bohemia, he was urged by the general voice of his people, and by his affection for his daughter and his grand-children, to send aid to his son-in-law, as Palatine; and, by disposing of some of the jewels of his queen (who had lately died), and borrowing money of her brother the king of Denmark, he was enabled to remit a supply of treasure for the defence of the Palatinate; but he was so unwilling to take an active part in the war, that he did not consent, without reluctance, to the enlistment of about 2500 volunteers. With this petty force, Sir Horace Vere embarked for the continent. The season, however, was so far advanced when he joined the army which had been raised by the princes of the union, that he had no opportunity of performing any service of importance before it became necessary to retire into winter-quarters⁴.

James was so infatuated with the prospect of the Spanish match, and of the splendid fortune which had

4. Rushworth, vol. i.—Wilson.

been

been promised with the infant, that he reflected on the distressed situation of his son-in-law with much indifference. He was, indeed, of opinion, that, if the Palatinate should be entirely subdued, the completion of the matrimonial treaty, which, he was assured by the artful Gondomar, would speedily take place, would give him an opportunity of recovering it for Frederic in that mode which was most agreeable to his feelings, by negotiation rather than by force. But, as his subjects were strongly inclined to assist the Palatine, he thought proper to apply to them for a free gift, to be appropriated to the service of that prince⁵. But, being displeased at this irregular mode of raising supplies, and perhaps suspicious of the misapplication of their contributions, the people were not very liberal on this occasion. A parliament was therefore summoned by James, who flattered himself with the prospect of an ample subsidy.

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That the public might think him really inclined to a vigorous war on the continent, the king appointed commissioners to consider of the proportion of troops, ammunition, treasure, &c. necessary for the re-establishment of Frederic's affairs in the Palatinate, of which Spinola had reduced a considerable part. While these delegates were employed in prosecuting their investigations, the national legislature assembled. In the harangue with which James opened the session, he stated the supply of his urgent necessities as the principal reason which had prompted him to convoke a parliament, and, as a secondary object, recommended the relief of the misfortunes of his son-in-law⁶. The commons testified such a readiness to diminish the necessities of their sovereign, as to grant him, early in

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Jan. 30.

5. Camd. Ann. Jac. I.—Rushworth, vol. i. p. 16.

6. Franklyn's Annals, p. 47.

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the session, two subsidies, which were voted with perfect unanimity.

Mar. 16.

In the discussion of the public grievances, vehement complaints were made of the frequency of monopolies; and Sir Giles Montpeffon, who had made an iniquitous use of some grants which he had procured, justly became an object of parliamentary indignation. His patents had enabled him to gratify his rapacity in an exorbitant degree, and to exercise an arbitrary jurisdiction, to the ruin of many individuals. Sir Francis Mitchel, and other patentees, were accused of similar abuses; and the commons loudly called for the punishment of these delinquents. The king, being informed of their complaints, asserted his own good intentions and cautious proceedings in the grant of patents, and disclaimed all connivance at the scandalous practices of the persons whom he had furnished with them. He promised to abolish all monopolies which had been found injurious, to punish all who had abused their power, to redress every real grievance, and take every step which might tend to the accommodation of the public. He expressed his gratitude for the supplies which had been afforded him, and his particular satisfaction at the manner in which they had been granted. The peers, to whom alone he addressed this speech, signified their warmest acknowledgments for the patriotic promises which it contained ⁷.

After an examination of witnesses with respect to the charges adduced against Montpeffon, the upper house passed sentence on that offender, importing that

7. To commemorate the king's gracious declarations, they ordered a sermon to be preached, not only in the abbey-church of Westminster, in the presence of the members of their house, but throughout the kingdom, on the anniversary of that day; and also decreed, that, in future parliaments, the lords should sit in their robes on that day, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*. *Parl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 385.

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he should be degraded from the dignity of a knight, be always considered as an outlaw, confined for life, and deprived of his property. In lieu of imprisonment, James ordered that he should be subjected to perpetual exile. Sir Francis Mitchel was degraded, fined, imprisoned, and disabled from holding any office.

The favorite Villiers, who, through the inferior ranks of the peerage, had now arrived at the dignity of marquis of Buckingham, had been the patron of the two knights whose delinquency had thus exposed them to ruin : but, when he found the two houses incensed against them, he did not attempt to screen them from punishment ; and, by this forbearance, he so conciliated the favor of the parliament, that two of his brothers, who had been accused of a concurrence in the guilty practices of Montpeffon, escaped a prosecution.

Besides the rapacious patentees, other individuals were subjected, in this session, to parliamentary cognifance. The attorney-general, Sir Henry Yelverton, having been imprisoned by a sentence of the court of Star-chamber for some official misconduct, was brought to the bar of the house of lords, where he so offended the king and the marquis by the freedom of his observations, that he was ordered to pay 10,000 marks to the former for the calumnies which he had thrown out against him, and 5000 to the latter, and to suffer confinement during the royal pleasure. Buckingham, who had principally contributed to the disgrace of Sir Henry, affected the praise of generosity by remitting that fine which was due to him. Another object of punishment was Sir John Bennet, judge of the prerogative court of Canterbury, who was charged with acts of extortion and the acceptance of bribes. He was expelled from the house of commons, and committed to

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prison. Dr. Field, bishop of Llandaff, was also accused of corrupt practices; and the commons demanded judgment against him; but the lords contented themselves with ordering that he should be reprimanded by the primate⁸.

In the case of a delinquent named Lloyd, the commons attempted to encroach on the privileges of the peers, by assuming a right of judicature. Lloyd having thrown out some reproachful and contemptuous expressions against the elector Palatine and his wife, they fined him, and condemned him to the pillory⁹. The lords complained of these proceedings of the commons, who, after several conferences, desisted from a claim which they perceived to be ill-founded.

The most illustrious delinquent who was punished during this session, was Sir Francis Bacon, viscount St. Alban's, who had for some years enjoyed the office of chancellor of the realm. A committee having been appointed by the commons to inquire into the proceedings of the courts of justice, the chairman (Sir Robert Philips) reported to the house, that there were sufficient grounds for accusing the chancellor of corruption. In the prosecution of this inquiry, such additional circumstances were discovered as amply corroborated the general charge. Twenty-three articles were drawn up, and sent to the house of peers, for the crimination of this great man; and though he was at

8. Parl. Hist. vol. v.
9. He had reprobated the injustice of Frederic in accepting a crown to which he had no right; had ridiculed the misfortunes of that prince and his consort; and, in imitation of James's queen, had called them *Goodman and Goodwife Passgrave*. The peers were more severe to him than the commons; for they degraded him from the rank of a gentleman, declared him inadmissible as a witness, and ordered him to be put in the pillory, whipped from the Fleet to Westminster-hall, fined in the sum of 5000 l., and imprisoned in Newgate for life. *Parl. Hist.*

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first inclined to stand on his defence, the despair of being able to exculpate himself induced him to acknowledge his guilt. He sent a paper to the house, which he entitled his "confession and humble submission," and which began in the following terms: "Upon advised consideration of the charge, descending into my own conscience, and calling my memory to account as far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuously confess, that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence, and put myself on the grace and mercy of your lordships." He then entered on the particulars of the charge, extenuating some of the articles, and avowing the greater part. When a committee of the upper house demanded of him whether he acknowledged this paper to be his, and would adhere to the confession which it contained, he answered, "My lords, it is my act, my hand, and my heart; I beseech your lordships to be merciful to a broken reed." The judgment pronounced against him was, that he should pay a fine of 40,000 pounds, be imprisoned in the Tower during the pleasure of his sovereign, be for ever incapable of holding any office in the state, and should never sit in parliament or appear within the verge of the court¹⁰. The king, who admired the genius of the disgraced chancellor, released him from the Tower after a confinement of only two days, and remitted his fine; and, at his earnest solicitation¹¹, abrogated (in 1624) the sentence of the peers, by the grant of a plenary pardon¹². He also continued to allow him an annuity of near 2000 pounds, which he had granted him before his fall; but, from the ill management of this monarch's treasury, the pension was very negligently paid.

May 3.

10. Camd. Ann. Jac. I. ad annum 1621.—Parl. Hist. vol. v. p. 420.

11. Cabala, p. 60.

12. Parl. Hist. vol. v. p. 422.

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The narrative of the disgrace of this celebrated man requires a supplemental sketch of his character. In genius and comprehension of mind, he excelled the most eminent of his cotemporaries. Extraordinary acuteness, wit, imagination, judgment, eloquence, and learning, concurred to render him an ornament to society, and an object of general admiration. He saw the defects of the philosophy which prevailed in his time, and pointed out those modes of improvement which his scientific successors have so happily committed to practice, and from which such useful discoveries have originated. His brilliant talents, and extensive knowledge, did not produce in him vanity or arrogance. His demeanor was distinguished by modesty and courtesy: he was humane, liberal, and hospitable; frank, communicative, and friendly. On the other hand, he was deficient in that dignity of mind, and that purity of heart, which persons of inferior intellects frequently possess. He courted with servility the smiles of the great, and thirsted for power and preferment with extravagant ardor; and, while he was entangled in these pursuits, he neglected the obligations of honor and gratitude. To indulge his expensive taste, he did not scruple to degrade both himself and the court in which he presided, by the meanness of corruption; while his facility of temper encouraged the extortions of his officers and servants, who pillaged without remorse the clients of his court.

June. Before the separation of the parliament, the commons evinced their zeal for the service of the Palatine, by an unanimous declaration, protesting, that, if the king's endeavours for procuring, by negotiation, the relief of his son-in-law, as well as of the German protestants (who, where-ever the arms of Spain and Austria prevailed, were miserably persecuted), should not be

be attended with success, they would cordially assist him with their lives and fortunes in obtaining by the sword what could not be effected by overtures of peace¹³.

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With respect to the campaign of this year in the Palatinate, it may be observed, that, though Spinola retired with the majority of his troops into the Netherlands, that he might be ready to oppose the Dutch, whose truce with Spain had now expired, the duke of Bavaria supplied his place as general of the catholic army, and enforced the imperial ban by prosecuting the reduction of Frederic's dominions. An army of German protestants under count Mansfeldt, and the English *corps* under Sir Horace Vere, were too weak to give any effectual check to the progress of the duke, though they found means to preserve some of the principal towns from falling into his hands. James, in the mean time, was negotiating with the emperor and his allies; but his want of firmness and decision encouraged foreign powers to treat his mediation with a disrespect which bordered on contempt.

As the public expected that the king would take some steps for the accomplishment of the beneficent promises which he had made in his late speech, he now published a proclamation, in which he abolished the obnoxious patents, redressed some other grievances, and declared that he and his privy counsellors would be ever ready to attend to the reasonable complaints of the people. Another proclamation which he issued at the same time was less pleasing to the nation. That freedom with which his subjects had spoken of his government had been always offensive to one who had so elevated an opinion of the royal dignity and pre-eminence; and he had before prohibited, by edict, that "excess of

13. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 36.—Wilson, p. 164.

"lavish

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"lavish speech" on political topics, in which the people were accustomed to indulge themselves, and had commanded all persons, on pain of imprisonment, to give information, to his officers, of those licentious remarks which they might chance to hear. Finding, as he might easily have foreseen, that this edict rather augmented than restrained the freedom of observation, he renewed, in a fresh proclamation, his prohibition of all censures of state-affairs ¹⁴.

Nov.

The parliament re-assembling in the autumn, Dr. John Williams, bishop of Lincoln (to whom the great seal had been committed on the disgrace of the chancellor, with the title of lord-keeper), addressed the two houses in the name of his majesty. He desired them to recollect the great attention which James had paid to his promises of redress, and the zeal which he had uniformly displayed for the gratification of his people. He expressed his regret for the ill success of the late negotiations in the cause of the elector Palatine; and recommended the unfortunate state of that prince's affairs to the early deliberation of the legislature. He intimated, that the king had lately sent 40,000 pounds for the maintenance of the protestant army under count Mansfeldt, who, without that seasonable aid, would have been under the necessity of disbanding his forces. Sir John Digby, who had been advanced to the peerage for the zeal and ability which he had exerted, though without success, in different embassies, gave the two houses a detail of his negotiations in behalf of the Palatine; and the lord-treasurer (Lionel Cranfield, who had succeeded Sir Henry Montague in that office) informed them of the reduced state of the exchequer, and urged them to contribute a great and

14. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 36.

a speedy supply for the re-establishment of the king's son-in-law¹⁵.

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When the king had proposed the dismissal of the parliament in the summer, the commons, who had no inclination to rise till they had secured the redress of other grievances besides those of which they had before complained, had expressed some disgust, and invited the peers to concur in a petition for a longer sitting. Their lordships, obsequious to the royal will, refused to join the lower house in that measure; and, while his majesty thanked the former for their respectful behaviour, he signified his displeasure at the conduct of the latter. He agreed, however, to delay his intention for a fortnight, if the upper house should desire it; but the commons, being consulted by the lords on this point, declined, with an appearance of discontent, the offered indulgence. As little harmony had at any time prevailed between James and the commons, it now seemed to be in a great measure extinguished; and though this petty dispute might, of itself, have soon sunk into oblivion, it tended to increase the disgust which had arisen from the king's eager desire of an alliance with a popish family, from his subserviency to the inclinations of the Spanish court, from his lenity to the catholics of his own dominions, from his inactivity in the cause of his oppressed son-in-law and of the persecuted protestants of Germany, and from his occasional attempts to elevate his prerogative on the ruins of parliamentary privilege. Some late instances of his arbitrary spirit had inflamed the popular discontent. He had confined the earl of Southampton, one of the less courtly peers, Sir Edwin Sandys, one of the leaders of the opposition in the house of commons, and the celebrated John Selden, who, though not yet a member,

15. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 39, 40.

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was consulted by the heads of that party. Not content with these indications of his displeasure, he had ordered the earl of Oxford to be taken into custody for the freedom of his remarks; and the dean of Exeter, besides another ecclesiastic, and two laymen, met with the same treatment¹⁶. Though these individuals did not remain long in confinement, the public accused the king of an illegal exercise of power towards those supposed advocates of liberty; and when the parliamentary deliberations were resumed, it was expected that some bold measure would result from the irritation of the popular mind.

The spirit of the lower house soon evinced itself. Under the auspices of Sir Edward Coke, and other able and resolute men, who, from their parliamentary conduct, had acquired among the people the reputation of patriots, a memorial was drawn up, with a view of opening the king's eyes to what was considered as his true interest. This remonstrance stated, that great danger was to be apprehended from the ambition of the pope for an universal supremacy in spiritual affairs, as well as from the attempts of "his dearest son" (the king of Spain) for the acquisition of an extensive temporal monarchy; that the diabolical positions and doctrines maintained by the papists for the advancement of their worldly interests rendered the progress of their religion an object of terror; that the distressed condition of the foreign protestants called for the friendly exertions of their brethren; that the misfortunes which had befallen the king's daughter and son-in-law occasioned as much joy to the catholics as sorrow to the protestants; that the popish confederacy aimed at the subversion of the true faith; and that the expectation of the Spanish match gave force to the intrigues of the

16. *Camd. Ann. Jac. I. ad menses Jun. et Jul. 1621.*

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1621.

English catholics, who, encouraged by the lenity of the government, and the interposition of foreign princes in their favor, held conventicles in the metropolis, sent their children to the Romish seminaries on the continent, and published seditious books in recommendation of their own tenets. Having mentioned other articles of grievance, the memorialists conjured his majesty to avert, by a change of measures, the evils which might otherwise happen both to the church and state; to suffer his pacific inclinations to give way to the urgency of the occasion, and take the sword in his hand, for the assistance of the Palatine, and of the harassed protestants of the continent; to turn his arms principally against the king of Spain, the head of the popish league; to substitute, for a Spanish alliance, the marriage of his son with a princess of the reformed faith; to recall the children who had been sent abroad for a popish education, commit the offspring of recusants to the tuition of protestants, appoint select commissioners for the enforcement of the laws against popery, and grant no catholic a release from the legal forfeitures incurred by his repugnancy to the established religion. At the close of the remonstrance, the commons requested, that, as they had resolved to grant a fresh supply for the recovery of the Palatinate, their sovereign would requite their liberality by the enactment of such bills as they should bring forward for the advancement of his honor and the benefit of his people, as well as by the promulgation of a general pardon, of a nature so comprehensive as to correspond with the benignity of his disposition¹⁷.

The king, who was then at Newmarket, had no sooner heard of the intended memorial, than his indignation prompted him to send an epistle to the

17. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 40—43.—Wilson, p. 167—171.

A. D.
1621.
Dec. 3.

speaker of the house of commons, couched in the language of disgust, reproof, and menace. He complained of the presumption of those "fiery and popular spirits" who argued and debated publicly of matters far above "their reach and capacity, tending to his high dishonor and the breach of the royal prerogative." He prohibited the members from interfering in "deep matters of state," from treating of his son's marriage, reflecting on the honor of his friends and confederates, or discussing such affairs as belonged to the courts of justice. As some mention had been made, during the debates, of the confinement of Sir Edwin Sandys, which had been reprobated as a breach of privilege, James declared that it did not arise from that gentleman's parliamentary conduct; but he at the same time intimated, that he considered himself as having a full right to punish any misdemeanors committed in parliament, and that he would in future exert that right, whenever the insolent behaviour of any member should furnish him with an occasion of chastisement. He concluded with observing, that, if any of the points, of which he had forbidden the discussion, had been incorporated in a petition intended for his perusal, he expected the speaker to inform the house, that, unless it should be corrected and reformed before it came to his hands, he should not deign to take the least notice of it¹⁸.

James flattered himself that the peremptory terms of this letter would intimidate the members of the opposition into peace and forbearance. But they were too well acquainted with his political timidity to suffer his menaces to damp their ardor. They proceeded to prepare a petition, in which, though they affected to feel "unspeakable sorrow" at the thoughts of his displeasure, and disclaimed all intentions of "encroach-

18. Winson, p. 173.—Rushworth, vol. i. p. 43.

ing or intruding on the sacred bounds of the royal "authority," they re-urged the substance of their memorial, and concluded with requesting, that "the ancient liberty of parliament, for freedom of speech, jurisdiction, and just censure of the house," might not be abridged, as it was "their undoubted right, and an inheritance received from their ancestors¹⁹."

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1621.

When this petition was sent to the king, it was accompanied with that remonstrance of which he had complained in his letter to the speaker. On the arrival of the twelve members whom the house had deputed to him with the two papers, and whom he jocularly termed *twelve kings*, he refused to give any answer to that which had been first prepared; but, to the second, he thought proper to give a copious reply. He expressed his surprise at finding that the petitioners substituted presumptuous advice and ill-founded complaints in lieu of a spirit of humility and moderation, and of a sincere gratitude for his repeated favors to his subjects. He desired them to recollect that he was an old and experienced king, who stood in little need of their instructions. As they had apologised for their persuasions of a war with Spain, by intimating that they were invited to that course by the insinuations contained in the three speeches which had been pronounced by his order (by the lord-keeper, lord-treasurer, and lord Digby), he affirmed that they had no ground for concluding, from any part of those harangues, that he intended to rush into an immediate war, but that he had resolved to have recourse to that extremity, if he should find that the Palatinate could be recovered by no other means. He acknowledged that a supply had been solicited for the purpose of preventing the dissolution of the protestant army in that territory; but it no more fol-

Dec. 11.

¹⁹. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 44.

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lowed that he was to declare war without delay against his catholic majesty, renounce the alliance which had been proposed for his son, and marry him to a protestant, than that, if he had borrowed money of a merchant for raising an army, he was bound to adhere to the advice of the lender in the regulation of his conduct with regard to the eventual war, and those circumstances which were connected with it. He censured the commons for arrogating such a plenitude of power, and carrying their deliberations to so general an extent. He reprobated the licentious "ejaculations of some foul-mouthed orators" against the honor of the king of Spain; declared his resolution of prosecuting the match to which they had objected (a measure of which they could not pretend to determine without the imputation of high treason); intimated that, in their petition, they had left nothing "unattempted, "in the highest points of sovereignty, except the "striking of coin;" and charged them not to pass in future beyond the limits of their authority and jurisdiction. Though he applauded their zeal against popery, he disapproved the rage of persecution; and though he was eager for the encouragement of the reformed faith, he was sensible of the rashness "of undertaking a public war of religion through all the "world at once." With respect to the pardon which they had desired, the latitude of it required an attentive deliberation. He was not pleased with their expressions concerning their ancient and undoubted right and inheritance; and he rather wished they had said, that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself. He assured them, however, that, as long as they should confine themselves within the boundaries of their duty, he would be "as careful to maintain their lawful liberties

"ties and privileges as ever any of his predecessors had been, nay, as to preserve his own prerogative." But, if they should take such an advantage of their privileges as to encroach on his prerogative, i.e., or any "just king," would be reduced to the necessity of retrenching the rights which they claimed ²⁰.

A.D.
1621.

This answer was not altogether agreeable to the commons; and they were particularly displeased at the king's observations with respect to the foundation on which their privileges stood. That their journal might exhibit a record of their sentiments on this head, they resolved to draw up a strong protestation. James, having learned their intentions, wrote a conciliatory letter to Sir George Calvert, one of the secretaries of state, which he desired might be communicated to the house. Neither this epistle, nor one which he afterwards wrote to the speaker, had the effect which he wished. The commons were so intent on the declaration of their privileges, that they postponed all other business; and when they had agreed on the terms of the protestation, it was ordered to be registered as a memorial of their lawful rights ²¹.

Dec. 13

The

20. Wilson, p. 178—184.—Rushworth, vol. i. p. 46—52.

21. It was couched in the following terms: "That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions, of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in parliament; and that, in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the house of parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters, in such order as in their judgments

A. D.
1622.

The behaviour of the commons gave a sensible disgust to James, who resolved even to give up a subsidy which they had engaged in the preceding month to grant him, rather than suffer them to prosecute what he called their encroachments on his prerogative. His ministers encouraging him in his intention, he sent the prince of Wales to the house of peers with a commission for suspending all parliamentary business till the February following; and before the time appointed for the resumption of it, he dissolved the legislature by a long proclamation, in which he censured the refractory spirit of the commons, and vindicated the integrity of his own views, and the equity of his government²².

A. D.
1622.
Jan. 6.

The late protestation was of a nature so offensive to the king's feelings, that he commanded the clerk of the lower house to produce the journal before the privy council; and when that officer had made his appearance, James, while he signified his determination of maintaining inviolably all the lawful privileges which the commons had ever enjoyed, expressed his strong displeasure at their presumptuous declaration. The irregularity with which it had been voted, formed, he

"shall seem fittest; and that every member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by censure of the house itself) for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament, or parliament business; and that, if any of the said members be complained of and questioned for any thing done or said in parliament, the same is to be shewed to the king by the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information." Rushworth, vol. i. p. 53.

22. Rym. Fœd. vol. xvii.—No fewer than 81 bills were presented to the house of lords, while this parliament sat; but, from the breach between the king and the commons, not one bill was enacted except that which granted the first supply. *Parl. Hist.* vol. v.

said,

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1622.

said, a sufficient objection to it's validity, as the question for it's passing had been decided in a tumultuary manner, at a late hour, and in the absence of above two-thirds of the house: but the chief ground of complaint was, that it was "penned in such ambiguous " and general words, as might serve for future times " to invade most of the rights and prerogatives annex- " ed to the imperial crown." On these considerations, his majesty declared the protestation to be utterly invalid, and, with his own hand, tore out of the journal the leaf which contained it ²³.

This instance of royal indignation was soon followed by an order for the seizure of the most active partisans of popular privilege. Sir Edward Coke, the oracle of the patriotic phalanx, was sent to the Tower; and Sir Robert Philips, who, among other points of offence, had warmly reprobated the Spanish match, was conducted to the same place of confinement. Several other obnoxious individuals were taken into custody; and some, being removed from the society of their political brethren, were ordered to repair to Ireland on public business, without regard to their private inclinations; while others of the party were sent into the Palatinate. The opposition which Sir John Savile (member for Yorkshire) had carried on against the court, was stopped in a way which was not at that time very usual: the employment of comptroller of the household was offered to him, which he had not the spirit to refuse; he was admitted into the privy council, and was afterwards elevated to the dignity of a peer ²⁴.

Though the peers, during the late parliamentary agitations, had been, for the most part, obsequious to

23. Dec. 30, 1621.—Rushworth, vol. i. p. 53, 54.

24. Wilson, p. 191.—Rushworth, vol. i. p. 55.

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1622.

the court, some of them had complained of the king's conduct in the distribution of honors. He had conferred, on several of his English subjects, titles of peerage derived from Ireland and from Scotland; and the persons thus honored had taken precedence of the nobility of England, when their titles were such as would have given them a superiority of rank, if drawn from that realm. The earls of Oxford, Huntingdon, and Essex, and thirty other peers, presented a petition to his majesty, requesting him to annul this ill-founded precedence; but he declined his assent to that point, though he desisted from similar creations²⁵.

To prevent an interruption of the late series of political transactions, we deferred the mention of a naval expedition which was undertaken against the Algerines. The piracies of those barbarians rendered the commerce of the Mediterranean so insecure, that frequent complaints were made by the English merchants to their sovereign, who consented to the equipment of a small fleet and army for the chastisement of the infidel plunderers. On the recommendation of the marquis of Buckingham, then lord high admiral, Sir Robert Mansel was appointed to the command of the armament; and, having sailed from England with six of his majesty's ships, and twelve others furnished by the merchants, he was joined on his passage by some French vessels, and appeared before Algier at the commencement of the winter²⁶; but finding it inconvenient to make a regular attack at that season of the year, he steered towards the coast of Spain. In the following spring, he returned to Algier, and formed the scheme of burning the ships of the enemy in harbour. But his intentions were not completely executed; for, when his boats had retired after a spirited

25. Wilson, p. 187, 188.

26. Nov. 28, 1620.

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1622.

use of the combustibles, the Algerines exerted themselves with such activity in extinguishing the flames, that only two of their vessels were disabled; and a continuance of adverse winds prevented the English from making another attempt, before the want of provisions induced Sir Robert to repair to Alicant, where he received orders from James to send home four of his ships. During his stay in the vicinity of Algier, he had sunk one of the largest of the hostile vessels; but the caution of the pirates had precluded him from an opportunity of making any important captures; and the diminution of his force, against which he remonstrated in a letter to the lord high admiral, dispelled his hopes of performing any effectual service against the corsairs of the Mediterranean ²⁷.

Another naval enterprise was soon after undertaken, with a view of repressing and chastising the insolence of the Dutch. A treaty had been concluded (in the year 1619) between James and that people, establishing a friendly association between the East-India companies of England and Holland; and stipulating a participation of the benefits of Oriental commerce ²⁸. This convention had been so ill observed by the Hollanders, whose selfish spirit prompted them to aim at a monopoly of the Indian traffic, that James, resenting their perfidious rapacity, and incensed at the barbarity with which they had treated the crews of some English vessels, sent out a fleet under the command of the earl of Oxford, to intercept the Dutch ships returning from India. The earl was unsuccessful in his cruise; for the vessels of which he was in search, having the advantage of the wind, escaped into the ports of Zealand. But vice-admiral Merwin, who com-

27. Cabala, p. 323, 324.—Camd. Ann.
vol. xvii. p. 170.

28. Rym. Fœd.

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1622.

manded a squadron on another station, had the good fortune to gain possession of a valuable prize ²⁹.

The king was the more encouraged to act with vigor against the Hollanders, by his expectations of effecting that alliance with the royal family of Spain, which had so long formed the chief wish of his heart. Though Philip III. who died in the preceding year, is said to have declared at his death, that he never had any intention of giving the hand of his daughter, the infanta Maria, to the prince of Wales, his successor of the same name thought proper to hold out to James the temptation which had so long amused him; and the British monarch continued to trust to the sincerity of the catholic king, from whom he expected not only an ample fortune for his son, but the complete restitution of the Palatinate to his son-in-law. He had made various proposals for a reconciliation between the latter and the emperor, who had consented to open a treaty at Brussels; but it soon appeared, from the dilatory and evasive conduct of Ferdinand's deputies, that the re-establishment of Frederic was a measure to which he had the strongest objections. Hostilities being still carried on in the Palatinate, the elector quitted Holland, and repaired to the camp of count Mansfeldt, with whom he gained some advantages over the Imperialists. But the superior number and greater resources of his enemies discouraged his exertions; and the persuasions of his father-in-law, and the vain hopes of accelerating an accommodation with Ferdinand, induced him to dismiss the army under count Mansfeldt, and retire to Sedan. This unfortunate prince was soon after deprived, by his imperial persecutor, of the electoral dignity, which was transferred to the duke

of Bavaria, who at the same time received investiture of the Upper Palatinate ³⁰.

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1622.

In the mean time, the negotiations for the Spanish match were continued; and the English ambassador, lord Digby (now earl of Bristol), who had hitherto given no credit to the assurances of the court of Madrid, began to think of relinquishing his suspicions. In his dispatches to James, he gave him the most flattering hopes of the speedy conclusion of the nuptial treaty, and of the subsequent restoration of his son-in-law. To promote these objects, by gratifying the bigotry of the Spaniards, the king released such papists as the law had sentenced to imprisonment for recusancy; alleging, as the chief motive for this favor, the probability of an imitation of his example by catholic princes in the case of the persecuted protestants. The puritans loudly complained of this indulgence to a sect which they hated; and many of the clergy openly reproached the king with his partiality to the cause of popery. He endeavoured to repress their freedom of censure, by issuing a code of instructions for the reformation of the abuses of preaching, that the eloquence of the pulpit might not be rendered subservient to the propagation of sedition ³¹.

The court of Rome, having been solicited for a dispensation, which the king of Spain regarded as a necessary prelude to the match, had demanded very favorable terms for the catholic subjects of James, whose reluctance to such concessions had been made a pretence for delay. He knew that a full compliance with the pope's demands would exasperate the English nation, augment the unpopularity of the proposed alliance, and corroborate the public opinion of the in-

30. Sir Thomas Roe's Negotiations.—Rushworth.—Wilson.

31. Rushworth, vol. i.

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1622.

sincerity of his repeated declarations of his own attachment to the protestant faith. He professed his readiness to relax the rigor of the laws against papists; but declared his firm opposition to the grant of such indulgences as might amount to a toleration of their religion ³².

With respect to the real dispositions of the Spanish court on the subject of the English alliance, historians have not universally concurred in their sentiments. Some have supposed that neither Philip III. nor his successor had any intention of completing the match; while others (and indeed the greater number) have concluded, that, though Philip IV. was, at first, as much inclined as his father to dupe the credulous James, he at length became sincerely disposed to the accomplishment of the projected union. Though the pertinacious adherence of the Spaniards to the Romish superstition long rendered them averse to a marriage between their infant and an heretical prince, the hopes of procuring a toleration for the English catholics gradually influenced their minds, so as to diminish the force of an objection which their religious prejudices had represented as insuperable. Perhaps the coolness now subsisting between the courts of France and Spain, principally occasioned by the jealousy of power, may have been one of the motives which induced Philip to cultivate the friendship of James, rather than expose himself, by a series of delusive negotiations, to the risk of the vengeance of an insulted nation, at a time when he might be involved in a Gallic war.

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While the earl of Bristol was employed in expediting the conclusion of the match, the marquis of Buckingham, from motives both of envy and policy, conceived the desire of personally completing the king's

32. Rushworth, vol. i.—Wilson.

A. D.
1623.

favorite project, and of forming an interest with the heir apparent, by the recommendation of an adventurous step which might at once gratify the prince's amorous impatience, and furnish the courtier with the most effectual opportunities of conciliating the regard of his future sovereign. He suggested to Charles, that a sudden journey to Spain would more rapidly promote the accomplishment of his wishes, than the cold efforts of agents and ambassadors. The prince, who had something of the romantic in his disposition, readily adopted the scheme, and entreated the royal consent to the execution of it. James, before he had reflected on the measure, acquiesced in his son's desire; but he afterwards repented of his facility, and conjured the prince to discard all thoughts of so wild and hazardous a scheme. His present opposition tended only to invigorate the resolution of Charles, and increase the insolence of Buckingham, who insisted on the king's adherence to the assent which he had given. Subdued by the respectful though peremptory language of the prince, and intimidated by the arrogant demeanor of an overbearing minister, who, in concert with his mother, had long directed the operations of the English court, James renewed his assent. Charles and the marquis soon after embarked at Dover in disguise, attended only by Sir Francis Cottington, Sir Richard Graham, and Endymion Porter. Having landed in France, they proceeded through that kingdom to the Pyrenees, and quickly made their appearance in the metropolis of Spain³³.

Mar. 7

The arrival of the heir of a great kingdom, unpreceded by those forms which are the usual preparatives of princely visits, gave equal surprise and pleasure to

33. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, edit. Oxon. 1707, p. 11—16.—Sir H. Wotton's Life of the Duke of Buckingham.

the

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1623.

the Spanish monarch. The more the compliment was unexpected, the more agreeable did such a mark of confidence prove to Philip, who received his youthful guest with every exterior demonstration of the most profound respect. The populace concurred with the gentry in applauding the gallantry of the British prince, who, they said, had entitled himself, by so spirited and romantic an adventure, to the immediate possession of the person of his mistress; and the count d'Olivarez, the prime minister of Philip (over whom he had the same exorbitant influence which Buckingham enjoyed over James), declared that the prince deserved to have the infanta thrown into his arms. The council of state decreed, that the illustrious visitant should take precedence of his catholic majesty, enter the palace with the same pomp which was appropriated to the kings of Spain at their coronation, reside in one of the principal divisions of the royal mansion, be attended by a regular guard, and receive from the members of the council that obedience which was due to the king³⁴. A general pardon was issued, that even criminals might share in the joy of the court and nation. To enumerate the successive acts of politeness with which the prince was honored, and the various modes of entertainment devised for his gratification, would be superfluous. But, though liberality, courtesy, and honor, marked the behaviour of the Spanish court towards Charles, there was one circumstance which was not altogether consonant with British ideas of courtship; and that was, the prohibition of all converse with the princess whom he sought in marriage, the arrival of the papal dispensation being deemed by the scrupulous Spaniards a necessary preliminary to the commencement even of the purest interviews.

34. Cabala, p. 357, 358.—Rushworth, vol. i. p. 76.

A. D.
1623.

When the pope (Gregory XV.) had been informed of the prince's journey into a catholic realm, he conceived that an epistle from him, seconded by the efforts of the Spanish clergy for the conversion of the heretical stranger, might probably have a good effect. He therefore wrote to Charles in a style of compliment, solicitation, and admonition; applauding his princely virtues, and that piety which had prompted him to court an alliance with a catholic princess; requesting him to embrace the doctrines of the apostolic church, and restore to Great-Britain her ancient religion; and warning him of the danger of an obstinate attachment to heresy. The prince's answer to the pontiff's letter was couched in terms of great respect and politeness³⁵; and those who have suspected him of an inclination towards popery have strongly insisted on some expressions in his reply, in which he seems to have carried his complaisance further than might have been expected from one whom his friends have represented as zealously attached to the protestant faith.

The dispensation being at length sent to Madrid, the articles of marriage were transmitted to England for the king's confirmation. These conditions chiefly purported, that the infanta, and her priests and other attendants, should enjoy the free exercise of the catholic religion; and that the children should be educated under the eye of the mother till the age of ten years, and should not, by being papists, forfeit the right of succession to the sovereignty of Great-Britain. James, in the presence of Mendoza and Colonna, the Spanish ambassadors at his court, not only confirmed those articles by his oath and signature, but swore to the observance of four private ones, of the following

July 20.

35. Franklyn's Annals, p. 77—Rushworth, vol. i. p. 82.—Wilson, p. 233.

tenor:

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1623.

tenor: that the laws against the catholics should not be put in execution; that no new statutes should be enacted to their prejudice, but that there should be a perpetual toleration of their religion within private houses throughout England and its dependencies; that no attempts should be made to prevail on the infanta to relinquish the Romish faith; and that the king and his son should exercise their utmost endeavours to procure a parliamentary assent to the abrogation of the laws against the papists³⁶.

At a time when James was congratulating himself on the near prospect of the long-expected match, which (he said) "all the devils in hell could not break;" when the erection of a chapel was commenced in the English metropolis, for the use of the Spanish princess; when orders were issued for treating the recusants with the utmost lenity; and when Jesuits and other papal emissaries were employed in strengthening the catholic party in England, and propagating their corrupt doctrines; the matrimonial treaty was dissolved by the arts and the influence of an upstart favorite, who, though he acquired the applause of his countrymen by preventing an unpopular connexion, was more actuated by his intemperate passions than by any motives of regard for the honor or the interest of his sovereign or of his country.

The marquis of Buckingham (whose dignity had been augmented, since his arrival in Spain, by a ducal patent transmitted from England) did not regulate his

36. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 86—89.—Wilson.—In the oath which Charles took for the observance of the agreement, he engaged to intercede with his father for an extension of the period assigned for the infanta's care of the children, to the age of twelve years; to listen, whenever she should desire him, to the discourses and exhortations of popish ecclesiastics; and not to prolong beyond three years the complete execution of every article.

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deportment in that mode which was calculated to render him popular among the Spaniards. His pride and arrogance displeased the nobles, who beheld with impatience, in a stranger, that haughtiness which so remarkably appeared in their own behaviour. The licentiousness of his discourse, his undisguised indulgence of criminal pleasures, his frequent bursts of passion, his gross familiarity with the prince, and the general impropriety of his demeanor, offended the gravity and the decorum of Spanish manners; and the eventual situation of the infanta was lamented by her countrymen, who dreaded the idea of her becoming a member of that court in which Buckingham ruled without control. Olivarez, having received an insult from him, could not conceal his displeasure; and Philip was not insensible of an affront offered to his minister. The disgust towards the duke was at length so violent, as to produce a declaration from the Spanish ministers, that they would rather throw the princess into a well than into his hands. As the earl of Bristol had acquired their esteem by his merit and abilities, they expressed a disapprobation of Buckingham's attempt to wrest the treaty out of the hands of that ambassador, and hinted a doubt whether the duke had received sufficient powers for prosecuting the negotiation. The coolness with which they now treated him, and the odium which he was conscious of having incurred, inflamed his indignation; and the vehemence of his passions hurried him into a resolution of opposing that marriage which he had hitherto promoted. He was encouraged in his determination by reflecting, that, if the match should take place, the influence of the Spanish court would be exerted, by the medium of the infanta, to ruin his interest both with James and his son; while, on the other hand, if he should succeed in the

over-

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1623.

overthrow of the treaty, he might attain a height of popularity, which would enable him to prevent the diminution of his courtly credit ³⁷.

By his artful address, Buckingham had acquired an extraordinary influence over the mind of Charles; and when he endeavoured to dissuade the prince from the match, he found no difficulty in procuring his assent to this sudden proposition. Though the conduct of Philip had hitherto been apparently unexceptionable, Charles was disgusted at that ridiculous formality which debarred him from familiar conversation with the fair object of his romantic visit; and, while a short delay would only have increased his ardor, the tardiness of Spanish deliberations damped his passion. Gregory XV. dying soon after he had sent the dispensation, the court of Madrid refused to treat it as valid till it had been confirmed by the new pontiff, Urban VIII. and this circumstance, as well as the unwillingness of that court to enter into any peremptory engagement with regard to the restitution of the Palatinate, conspired with the duke's insinuations to seduce Charles into an opinion of the insincerity of Philip. The prince having informed his father of these suspicions, James, apprehensive of danger, urged him to expedite his return; and the earl of Rutland was sent out with a fleet to escort him. When he took leave of the royal family of Spain, sumptuous presents were reciprocally conferred; and, on the spot where he separated from Philip, a commemorative pillar was erected by that monarch's order. The dignified modesty of his behaviour, the temperance of his habits, and the decency of his manners, had conciliated the good-will of the Spaniards, who lamented only that he

Sept.

37. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 101, 102.—Cabala, p. 98, 358.—Wotton's Life of Buckingham.

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1623.

was so subservient to the counsels of Buckingham. They foresaw that this nobleman would endeavour to prevent the marriage, and that the prince would yield to his suggestions. Charles, however, at his departure, concealed his change of sentiments; and left with the earl of Bristol a procuration for espousing the infanta, as soon as the new dispensation should arrive from Rome³⁸.

The prince's arrival in England was so acceptable to James, that the thoughts of his favorite match were absorbed in the joy of his son's return; and the satisfaction was not confined to the sovereign; for the most sincere and general acclamations pervaded the nation. The duke's influence was now strenuously employed for the purpose of inclining the king to a dereliction of the Spanish alliance; but all his efforts of persuasion would perhaps have been fruitless, had not the prince strongly concurred with him. James was of too weak a spirit to resist the importunities of his son and the remonstrances of his favorite, in a point in which the majority of his subjects coincided with them in opinion; and he submitted, though not without great reluctance, to the adoption of such measures as they recommended. He sent orders to the earl of Bristol, not to deliver the procuration for the espousals, till he should have learned what steps the Spanish court would take for procuring the restitution of the Palatinate to his son-in-law, if the emperor should continue to resist all conciliatory propositions³⁹. Philip promised to make use of the strongest intercessions with Ferdinand for the re-establishment of the elector Palatine; but refused to enter into any engagement for assisting the injured prince by arms.

38. Cabala, p. 99, 100, 358.—Rushworth, vol. i. p. 103.

39. Cabala, p. 263.—Rushworth, vol. i.

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1623.
Dec.

When the new dispensation reached Madrid, the court expressed a great joy on the occasion, and made the most splendid preparations. The household of the infanta was established; and a time was fixed not only for the sponsal ceremony, but also for the commencement of her journey to England. But, when Bristol was desired to produce the prince's procurations, he declared, in pursuance of further instruction, that the king of Great-Britain would not permit the progress of the nuptial engagement, till the restitution of the Palatinate, as well as of the electoral dignity, should be completely adjusted. The Spanish monarch represented the strong probability of obtaining, by his mediation, very favorable terms for Frederic; and, when pressed by the earl, is said to have promised, that, if friendly interposition should fail, he would have recourse to arms⁴⁰. As the ambassador's orders were peremptory, Philip's answer was deemed vague and indecisive, and the matrimonial treaty was immediately dissolved, at a time when there was sufficient reason to conclude that a real desire of it's success was cherished by the Spanish court.

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Feb. 19.

The same spirit which prompted the duke of Buckingham to attempt the annihilation of the Spanish match, influenced him to make preparations for those vigorous hostilities which the treaty had so long suspended. But, as the treasury was exhausted, and the unparliamentary modes of raising a supply had proved inefficacious, it was deemed adviseable to convoke a parliament. When the two houses had assembled, James addressed them to the following purport. He observed that he had been employed for many years in the work of negotiation, with a view of re-establishing the peace of Christendom; but, when he had found the

40. Wilson, p. 257.—Rushworth.

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efforts of his ambassadors less successful than he had expected, he had consented to his son's journey into Spain, that the real sentiments of that court might be discovered. He was then, he said, "as disappointed of his ends, as if he had been waked out of a dream." When his secretaries should have related all the particulars of the affair, he trusted that his parliament would give him "good and sound advice." He had been accused, he said, of negligence in the defence of the protestant religion. He allowed, indeed, that he had not strictly enforced the penal laws against catholics; but he wished it to be considered, that "a king who governs wisely is not bound to carry a rigorous hand on all occasions." He desired that none would be too curious with regard to privileges, liberties, and customs. "Do (said he) what you ought, and no more than your lawful liberties and privileges will permit; and ye shall never see me curious to the contrary. I would rather maintain your liberties than alter them." He objected to the discussion of frivolous and unnecessary questions; and hoped that nothing might arise which might prevent this parliament from having a more fortunate conclusion than the last ⁴¹.

To justify the dissolution of the Spanish treaty, the duke of Buckingham pronounced a long harangue to a committee of both houses. That he scrupulously adhered to truth in his narrative, we will not pretend to affirm; for the presumptions seem sufficiently strong to authorise a contrary conclusion. As his resentments had influenced him to his late conduct, he found it expedient to fabricate some plausible pretexts for his vindication. From the general repugnance of the English to the match, he flattered himself that he

Feb. 24²

⁴¹ Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 4—9.

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might easily propagate a belief of such assertions as coincided with their wishes; and, as his principles of honor were not very strong, he felt little compunction for his deviations from candor and veracity. The earl of Bristol, a minister of integrity, afterwards exposed the weak foundation of various parts of the duke's narrative, and invalidated those censures, which, for the purpose of his own exculpation, he had thrown out against the court of Madrid.

The substance of the duke's relation may be stated in a few words. He observed, that the motives of the prince's journey to Spain had arisen from the despair of discovering, by any other means, the real views of that court; that the whole behaviour of Philip and his ministers towards Charles clearly showed their desire of rendering him a dupe to their artifices; that unnecessary delays and evasions marked the negotiation; and that the catholic king never had the least intention of giving his sister's hand to Charles, or of promoting the restitution of the Palatinate to Frederic ⁴².

The prince of Wales, who was now as obsequious to the sway of Buckingham as his father had ever been, testified his approbation of the duke's account of the Spanish proceedings; a circumstance which does not tend to the honor of Charles's sincerity, if he had any suspicion of the favorite's misrepresentations. The Spanish ambassador, who heard the duke's harangue, was highly irritated at some reflexions that were aimed at his sovereign, and declared the affront to be of such a nature, that it could only be expiated by the forfeiture of the offender's head. The peers resented the behaviour of the ambassador, unanimously acquitted Buckingham of the charge of having used expressions derogatory to the honor of Philip, applauded the fidelity

42. Rushworth, vol. i.—Parl. Hist. vol. vi.

of the duke's statements, and gave it as their opinion, that, by his negotiation, he had entitled himself to the praises of his king and country. The commons, with equal unanimity, vindicated the duke, and concurred with the lords in their address of justification and panegyric, to which James returned an approving answer ⁴³.

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The two houses soon after presented another address to the king, reprobating the insincerity of the court of Spain, and affirming that the treaties for the prince's marriage and the restitution of the Palatinate could no longer be continued with any regard to the honor of his majesty, the security of his people, the welfare of his posterity, and the protection of his ancient confederates. James, eager to embrace every opportunity of displaying his eloquence, now repaired to the upper house, and harangued his legislative subjects on the purport of their late address. He thanked them for the advice which they had given him, and expressed his zealous desire of re-establishing the fortunes of his son-in-law; but declared his aversion to the prosecution of those means of accomplishment which were connected with the sanguinary horrors of war, and intimated his hopes that the desired restitution might yet be effected by amicable agreement. If a war, however, should be earnestly recommended by his people, he would not, he said, oppose their united wishes. But, before a final resolution should be adopted on that head, he trusted that they would deliberately reflect on the means of providing those copious supplies without which the proposed hostilities would be languid and inefficient. The scanty aids which he had received from his parliaments, had been so inadequate to his exigencies, that he had been obliged to contract con-

43. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 125—127.

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considerable debts; and, as the treasury was at so low an ebb, nothing but a very ample pecuniary grant would enable him to make war with vigor and effect. That no apprehensions of misapplication might check the liberality of the commons, he assured them that whatever should be granted for the war should be committed to the disposal of commissioners appointed by parliament ⁴⁴. Though this offer was highly agreeable to them, they had been so long accustomed to parsimonious grants, that the supply which they now voted was much less than might have been expected from their eager desire of war. It consisted only of three subsidies and three fifteenths, which did not amount to the sum of 300,000 pounds. A proclamation was now issued, declaring that the treaty for the Spanish match, and that which had for its object the restitution of the Palatinate, were dissolved; and this measure was formally notified to the court of Madrid.

The lenity which the king had lately shown to the catholics, and the great resort of foreign priests to the British dominions, produced a joint petition from the lords and commons, praying that the laws against papists might be enforced, and that no treaty with any potentate whatever might be suffered to operate in favor of recusants; for, though the danger apprehended from the Spanish match had ceased, the rumor of the king's intention of courting a French alliance for his son had given rise to fresh alarms in the minds of those who detested the superstitions of Rome. James answered the petition with declarations of his aversion to popery, and promises of full compliance with the requests of his parliament ⁴⁵.

⁴⁴. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 131.—Wilson, p. 268.

⁴⁵. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 141—144.

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Some beneficial statutes were enacted in this session; particularly one against monopolies, others for the correction of various abuses in the practice of the law, one for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture, another for the accommodation of the poor, and some for the punishment of vice and immorality.

During the session, the influence of Buckingham was exerted for the ruin of the lord-treasurer Cranfield. This minister was originally a merchant; but, his dexterity in the management of commercial affairs having recommended him to the notice of the favorite, he had been introduced into the privy-council, had been gratified with honors and offices, and had at length obtained the post of high treasurer of the realm, and the dignity of earl of Middlesex. Having offended the duke by his neglect of that humility which his domineering patron required, as well as by his opposition to some of the pecuniary demands consequent on the journey to Spain, he was marked out as an object of vengeance. At the instigation of Buckingham, some of the leading members of the lower house impeached him of various misdemeanors; and, notwithstanding the avowed favor of the king, who addressed the parliament in his behalf, and conjured the prince of Wales and the duke to desist from their encouragement of the prosecution⁴⁶, the peers pronounced the earl guilty, and ordained that he should pay a fine of 50,000 pounds, be disabled from holding any office,

46. Finding the prince and the duke unmoved by his expostulations, he exclaimed, in a tone of anger, that the former "would live to have "his belly-full of parliamentary impeachments;" and, addressing Buckingham with equal warmth, said, "By God, Stenny, you are a "fool, and will shortly repent this folly; and you will find, that, in "this fit of popularity, you are making a rod, with which you will "be scourged yourself." *Clarendon's Hist. of the Reb.* vol. i. p. 20.

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be deprived of his seat among the members of the legislature, and imprisoned during the sovereign's pleasure ⁴⁷.

The late change of measures in the court of England gave great disgust to that of Spain; and Philip's ambassadors endeavoured to form a party against the duke of Buckingham, whom they represented as a dangerous minister, destitute of all regard for the honor of his king or the welfare of his country. The marquis of Inoiosa, in particular, accused the duke of having conspired with a faction of the nobles to reduce James to the condition of a nominal sovereign, confine him to a hunting seat, and place the whole administration in the hands of Charles. Alarmed at these suggestions, the king separately interrogated many of his privy counsellors, and obtained from them a solemn declaration of their own innocence, and an attestation of the loyalty of Buckingham. The duke himself, perceiving that Inoiosa's intimations had made some impression on the timidity of James, labored, with his usual address, to convince the king of his fidelity; and an exterior reconciliation took place. Satisfaction was afterwards demanded of his catholic majesty for the seditious behaviour and calumnious insinuations of Inoiosa and his colleague Colonna; and Philip, after their return to Spain, ordered them to be confined; but this was a mere matter of form; for they were quickly released, and continued to enjoy the favor of their sovereign ⁴⁸.

Though James had acquiesced in the counsels of Buckingham, he was far from being pleased at the dissolution of the Spanish treaty; and the duke's con-

47. Parl. Hist. vol. vi.

48. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 144, 145.—Catala, p. 13, 14—Life of the lord-keeper Williams, by bishop Hacket.

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duct in that particular had greatly diminished the affection which the infatuated monarch had long borne to him. But, as this powerful nobleman was in high favor with the heir apparent, the parliament, and the nation in general, the king found the torrent too strong to be then resisted; and consoled himself with the hope of an opportunity of shaking off the yoke of a presumptuous upstart. The arrival of the earl of Bristol from Spain seemed to offer that occasion for which James wished; and the friends of that respectable peer prepared for a strenuous opposition to the career of Buckingham. But such was the king's weakness, that, though he had resolved to support the earl's party against the prince's faction, he hastily abandoned his resolution, and, at the desire of Charles and the duke, not only refused to admit Bristol into his presence, but ordered him to be confined on pretence of his misconduct in Spain ⁴⁹.

The late parliamentary supplies being insufficient for a vigorous campaign, Buckingham is said to have formed the scheme of seizing the lands of the church ⁵⁰, and appropriating the produce to the demands of military service. But, if he really entertained such an idea, he was convinced, on mature reflexion, that this proposal would not meet with the sanction of parliament, still less with that of James and his son, who were warmly attached to the episcopal establishment.

While the duke was expediting the English preparations for war, a new treaty was in agitation between James and the Dutch, who had solicited his aid against their Spanish enemies. Before it was signed, intelligence arrived of the flagitious practices of the Dutch colonists of Amboyna, who, instead of suffering the

49. Rushworth, vol. i.—Clarendon's Hist. of the Reb. vol. i.

50. Hacket's Life of the lord-keeper Williams.

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English to enjoy, according to former stipulations, one third of the commerce of that and other settlements in the East-Indies, were eager to embrace every opportunity of monopoly. Alleging that the members of the English factory at Amboyna had entered into a conspiracy for the expulsion of the Dutch from that island, the latter seized the whole number of them; drew from them, by the most violent tortures, declarations of guilt to which they were strangers; put ten to death, banished the remainder, and engrossed to themselves the valuable traffic of spice⁵¹. James remonstrating against this injustice and barbarity, the Dutch ambassadors vindicated their countrymen by assuring the king of the guilt of the English; and, as his rupture with the court of Spain induced him to wish for the preservation of amity with the states-general, he forbore to make that inquiry into the affair which the insulted honor of Britain demanded. By the treaty which was now concluded, he agreed to send over 6000 men to Holland, for reinforcing the army of the prince of Orange. These auxiliaries had few opportunities of signalising their valor in this campaign, as a general engagement did not take place.

As it was the interest of the French to reduce the exorbitant power of the house of Austria, James flattered himself with the hopes of deriving some assistance from Lewis XIII. towards the recovery of the Palatinate. But, the bigotry of that monarch prompting him to turn his arms against his protestant subjects, before he should embark in any foreign enterprise, he evaded the solicitations of James for an offensive league, though he testified a readiness to comply with his desire of a matrimonial alliance. After some months

51. Wilson's Life of James, p. 281, 282.

of negotiation, a match was concluded between the prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria, the sister of Lewis. It was stipulated on this occasion, that the princess should enjoy the free exercise of the catholic religion; that her brother should nominate the servants who should accompany her to England; that such vacancies as might arise in her household should be supplied, at her appointment, by Romanists; and that the offspring of the marriage should be educated under the eye of the mother till the age of thirteen years⁵². In addition to these public articles, some private ones received the assent of James, importing that the recusants who had been apprehended since the rupture with Spain should be gratified with their liberty and the restitution of their property, and that no catholics throughout his dominions should in future be molested on account of their religion⁵³. The king's eagerness for his son's marriage induced him, on this occasion, to violate the promise which he had lately given in his answer to the parliamentary petition against the papists.

As a prelude to the recovery of the Palatinate, the king now demanded the restitution of Frankendale, which, after the surrender of the rest of Frederic's dominions, had been delivered up to the court of Brussels, by a treaty between the archduchess Isabella and James, by whose troops it was garrisoned. It had been stipulated, that it should be restored after an interval of eighteen months, whether peace should or should not then prevail between Frederic and the emperor. When the execution of the agreement was demanded by the British monarch, the archduchess signified her acquiescence, and gave him permission to

52. Rym. Fœd. vol. xvii. p. 673.
vol. i. p. 169,

53. Rushworth,

A. D. 1624. send a body of his troops, of the same number with the former garrison, through any part of her territories: but, as the treaty contained no provision for a free passage through the imperial districts to Frankendale, it proved nugatory with respect to James, who, when he urged Isabella to attend to the spirit of the convention, found himself duped and disappointed⁵⁴.

Count Mansfeldt having offered his military service to James, to whose court he repaired in person, it was resolved that 12,000 infantry and 200 cavalry should be put under the command of that able warrior. As the French ambassador had assured James, that his army might freely pass through the dominions of Lewis, the count sailed from the Downs towards Calais with the British forces; but, when he arrived off that port, the governor informed him that no orders had been sent from the king for the admission of a foreign army. Application being made to Lewis, he disavowed the promise of a passage through his territories; and, with respect to a reinforcement which Mansfeldt had hoped to procure from him, in consequence of his disagreement with the courts of Vienna and Madrid, he intimated that he had not yet determined on joining his Britannic majesty in the cause of the unfortunate Palatine. Thus repulsed by the French, the count bore away to the north-east, in expectation of better treatment from the Dutch. But the latter suffered their allies to remain so long off their coast, that a pestilential disorder, arising from a scarcity of salubrious food, and a want of sufficient room in the ships, carried off a very considerable number; and, when the distressed troops at length obtained permission to land, a further diminution ensued from the ravages of disease. The

54. *Histoire de Louise Juliane, Electrice Palatine*, par Spanheim.—Rushworth.

remaining force (reduced to about one half of the original complement) being inadequate to the projected enterprise, many of the soldiers took an opportunity of deserting, while others joined their countrymen in the Dutch service ⁵⁵.

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While the English were engaged in this calamitous expedition, and while an armament was under preparation for an enterprise against the Spanish dominions, the king was assailed by an indisposition, which hurried him from the scene of life. His disorder was a tertian ague, which operated with such violence on his gross habit of body, as to convince him that his dissolution was approaching. Having ordered his son to attend him, he gave him his final advice, desiring him to protect the church of England, love the person, but not the religion, of his wife, and aim at the re-establishment of the Palatine family ⁵⁶. Undismayed at the prospect of death, he behaved, in the last stage of his existence, with a dignified firmness; and expired at Theobald's, his favorite seat, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after a reign of twenty-two years over England, and of near fifty-eight over Scotland ⁵⁷.

Mar. 27.

This monarch, in his person, bore little resemblance to the elegant figure of his father, and exhibited still fewer traces of the lineaments of his beautiful mother. His form was not remarkable for justness of proportion; his aspect was unpleasing and inexpressive; his

55. Sir Thomas Roe's Negotiations.—Rushworth.—Willson.

56. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 155.

57. The enemies of the duke of Buckingham did not scruple to propagate a report of his having poisoned James, whose favor he did not expect long to retain; but, though it appears that the duke and his mother were guilty of the rashness of quackery, by recommending particular medicines to the king, which were not productive of the best effects, no sufficient grounds were ever discovered for charging him with the detestable crime alluded to.

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eyes were large and spiritless; his knees tottered as he walked; and his whole deportment was destitute both of grace and dignity. But, in the faculties of his mind, and the qualities of his heart, points of far greater importance than the exterior graces of countenance or of gesture, he was less despicable. His talents, cultivated by learning, displayed themselves to advantage in the varieties of conversation; and though, both as an orator and an author⁵⁸, he has been assailed with the severities of censure, candor requires us to bestow some praise on his attainments in each of those capacities. He did not, indeed, rise to the heights of a Cicero or of a Bacon; nor, on the other hand, did he sink to those extreme depths into which the acrimony of criticism, inflamed by the rancor of party, has plunged him. But, however just might be those sentiments which his eloquence delivered, or his pen exhibited to the public, he was ill qualified to pass from theory to practice. He was vain, capricious, inconsiderate, incautious, facile, and indecisive; and was therefore less adapted for the discharge of political functions, than might have been expected by those who had frequently witnessed the sagacity of his remarks and the propriety of his reasonings. His ideas of the kingly power were too elevated for the meridian of a free people; and though he had not the spirit to enforce his own doctrines, his repeated mention of them aroused the jealousy of his subjects, and kept

58. His principal writings are those which follow: Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον (the Royal Gift) addressed to his son Henry; a treatise on free monarchies; tracts against popery; and commentaries on different parts of Scripture. His *Dæmonologia* (in which he supports the doctrine of witchcraft), and his *Counterblast to Tobacco*, have excited much ridicule. He did not confine himself to prose; for he published a small collection of poems, which, however, have little merit.

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them on their guard against the eventual exercise of an authority disallowed by the constitution. But, notwithstanding his attachment to speculative despotism, his general mildness and humanity would, even if he had wielded the sceptre of an arbitrary monarchy; have prevented him from indulging himself in the excesses of practical tyranny. The same moderation of temper induced him to prefer the blessings of peace, to the destructive horrors of war; and the title of *rex pacificus*, which some of his predecessors would have rejected with scorn, appeared, in the estimate of his humane philosophy, more truly honorable than the most splendid trophies of victory and conquest⁵⁹. While the princes of the continent ridiculed his pusillanimity, he still retained his aversion to hostile measures; and nothing but the influence of a domineering favorite, supported by the public voice, could have prevailed on him to relinquish his pacific views. Though his reign has been stigmatised with the epithet of *inglorious*, the want of lustre was compensated by the happiness of his people, who, notwithstanding the intervention of some illegal exactions, were far from being severely burthened; who, by the patriotic attention of their sovereign, felt the beneficial effects of improved manufactures and extended commerce; and who enjoyed greater advantages, and suffered fewer encroachments, than had attended the illustrious sway and applauded administration of Elizabeth.

The private life of James was alternately devoted to the sports of the field, to convivial recreations, and to literary amusements. To incontinence he was wholly a stranger; and, indeed, he took little delight in female society. Though, as a prince, he affected dissimulation, he was frank and sincere as a man; and,

59. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 129.

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though tinctured with pedantic vanity, he showed little tendency to the disgusting haughtiness of superior station. He was injudicious in the choice of his favorites; testified his attachment to them by a series of profuse grants; and suffered them to rule him at their pleasure. His inclination for mirth degenerated into a fondness for buffoonery; and, the coarser was it's complexion, the more did it gratify him. He was humane and generous to his family and household; grateful for the services of his dependents, and indulgent to their foibles.

With regard to his religious principles, writers have greatly differed. Some have spoken confidently of his affection for the Romish system; while others have represented him as sincerely attached to the protestant faith. The truth seems to be, that he was averse to popery from conviction, and a friend to the church of England; but, not cherishing, towards persons of a different persuasion, that intolerant spirit which the bigots in all ages have deemed a necessary proof of a cordial adherence to a particular creed, he afforded a pretext for his being accused of insincerity, and of an indifference to that church which he professed to follow⁶⁰.

60. By his only wife, Anne, the daughter of Frederic II. king of Denmark, James had three sons and four daughters: Henry Frederic, of whose immature death and estimable character the reader has been already informed; Robert, who did not live to the age of discretion; Charles, who succeeded his father: Elizabeth, who espoused the elector Palatine; Margaret, Mary, and Sophia, who died infants.





Heath Sc.

CHARLES I.

Publiſh'd May 5 1791. by C. Stalker.

C H A P. V.

C H A R L E S I.

Charles espouses the princess Henrietta Maria of France.

—He sends out a fleet against the Spaniards;—but the expedition is unsuccessful.—His favorite, the duke of Buckingham, is impeached.—He, a second time, abruptly dissolves the parliament.—A general loan is demanded of the people.

WE now enter upon a reign pregnant with memorable incidents. We shall behold a contest between a king and his parliament, commenced by each party under the ostensible, and perhaps the actual, idea of merely preventing the encroachments of the other. The generous spirit of liberty will appear, in many instances, degraded by the pernicious mixture of bigotry and faction; and the proud pre-eminence of royalty will be seen to overleap the boundaries of the constitution, and deviate into occasional exertions of tyrannic power. In the delineation of the turbulent scenes of this reign, it will be extremely difficult for any writer to secure a general approbation of his labors. By a warm defence of the proceedings of one party, he will arouse the strong disgust of the other; and, if he should, in compliance with the indispensable duty of an historian, pursue the paths of unbiassed moderation, he will perhaps be considered, by the advocates of the unfortunate Charles, as lukewarm in the cause of injured majesty, while the partisans of popular resistance may be inclined to reproach him with want of zeal for the glorious interests of liberty and the inalienable

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rights of man. Regardless of such attacks, the present author will steadily aim at the discovery of truth; and, if it's full lustre should not always illumine his page, the candid, he trusts, will impute the defect to the difficulty of developing it amidst the discordant narratives of party, not to the delusions of prejudice, or to the contemptible arts of evasion and disguise.

On the decease of James, the privy-counsellors who had attended the expiring monarch at Theobald's, ordered his son Charles to be proclaimed king in that neighbourhood; and then hastened to the metropolis, where the ceremony was repeated amidst the general acclamations of the people. The new monarch, after a short indulgence of his sorrow, repaired to Westminster; and, a council being the next day convoked, it was resolved that a parliament should be summoned without delay.

As the influence which the duke of Buckingham had acquired over the prince was not diminished by the devolution of the crown to the latter, the counsels which had been adopted at the close of the late reign continued to prevail in the British court. The preparations for a war with Spain were prosecuted with vigor; and attempts were made to form a strong confederacy among the protestant states for the humiliation of the Austrian power. The kings of Sweden and Denmark, and several of the German princes, were sufficiently inclined to check the flight of the Imperial eagle; and the subsidies promised by Charles encouraged them in the resolution of opposing the encroachments of the ambitious Ferdinand. The Dutch, who were still at war with Spain, found it their interest to join the association; and, when Charles proposed a close alliance between himself and that republic,

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his overtures were not rejected, a league being concluded before the expiration of the year ¹.

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Amidst the political cares that crowded upon him, the young king did not neglect his matrimonial concerns. Having confirmed the articles to which his father had agreed, he sent the duke of Buckingham to the court of France, with directions to bring over his bride, the princess Henrietta Maria, whom, in his name, the duke of Chevreuse had espoused at Paris. Being escorted from Boulogne by an English fleet, she safely arrived in the dominions of her lover; and the marriage was consummated at Canterbury. Before her appearance in this realm, Charles, in compliance with the private stipulations of the nuptial treaty, had indulged twenty Romish priests with a full pardon for their violation of the laws against popery ². The catholics were greatly pleased with a match which promised them a relaxation of the rigor of the law; but the protestant part of the nation, full of the prejudices of intolerance, conceived a violent disgust to an alliance which held out a favorable prospect to a sect proscribed by law.

When the new parliament met, Charles recommended to the assembly a vigorous prosecution of the war which the late king had commenced by the advice of his subjects. The lord-keeper then urged the expediency of a considerable supply, alleging that the last grant had been consumed in necessary expences. When the commons proceeded to business, some individuals recommended a delay of supplies till a redress of grievances should have been secured: but, as the plague then raged in the capital (for it is remark-

June 18.

1. Sir Thomas Roe's Negotiations. — History of the Reign of Charles I. by Hamond L'Estrange. — Rushworth's Collections.

2. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 169.

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able that the reign of Charles, as well as that of his father, commenced with a furious pestilence), the deliberations on the royal necessities were hastened, and two subsidies were voted to the new sovereign³.

The smallness of this grant has drawn forth various reflexions from successive historians; but, of all the reasons which have been, or may be, assigned for it, the following seem to be the most probable. The satisfaction which the late parliament had evinced at the dissolution of the Spanish treaty, had been since allayed by the French alliance, which, in the opinion of those who detested popery, portended as much danger to the protestant cause as had been dreaded from the union with the infanta. This circumstance alone was sufficient, from the strong aversion of the puritans to the Romish faith, to kindle in that party a jealousy of the court; and, as their sentiments had a great sway in the lower house, an unwillingness to gratify the king was the result. It may also be supposed, that the imprudence of the ministry in the direction of the late military enterprise had produced strong doubts of the capacity and judgment of the duke of Buckingham, the chief author of the counsels of the British cabinet; and that the parliament began to contract a disgust to the continuance of a war which promised little success when conducted by inexperienced hands. Another inducement to such a display of parsimony in the commons may perhaps have arisen from the prevailing spirit of liberty. They suspected that Charles had imbibed those high notions of prerogative which had been cherished by the deceased king; and were apprehensive that he would assert his pretensions with greater spirit than his pusillanimous and inactive father. Hence they were desirous of providing an early

3. Rushworth, vol. i.

check to eventual encroachments on the privileges of the people: and, by keeping their monarch in a state of necessitous dependence, they hoped to secure the preservation of their liberties.

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As the fury of the pestilence increased, Charles adjourned the parliament to Oxford, where he endeavoured to conciliate the liberality of the commons, by an explicit detail of the state of his affairs, and a fresh appeal to their sense of the honor and dignity of their sovereign and of the nation, which loudly called for their support of those measures into which their advice had impelled the late king.

Aug.

During the recess, the minds of the people had been greatly inflamed against Charles and the duke of Buckingham, by a recent discovery. At the earnest desire of the French king, James had promised to reinforce that prince's fleet with one ship of war and seven merchant-men. Lewis alleged that these vessels were to be employed against the Genoese; but, when Charles had executed his father's promise, it appeared that they were intended to act against the Huguenots. Pennington, the commander of the English reinforcement, sailed to Dieppe, where he received orders from the duke to deliver up his squadron to such persons as the king of France should appoint. But his men refused compliance, declaring that they would rather die than become subservient to the ruin of their protestant brethren; and, weighing anchor with the connivance of the commodore, returned to the Downs⁴. Charles then sent a peremptory message to Pennington, requiring him to surrender his fleet to the French; and that officer immediately sailed back to Dieppe, but could not overcome the strong reluctance of his

⁴. Cabala, p. 348—351.—Rushworth, vol. i. p. 175.

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men, who were so resolute in declining the odious service on which the king wished to force them, that all of them, except one, quitted the ships. One of the vessels, under the command of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, hastened back to England; and, the rest being yielded to the French, were speedily manned by sailors of that nation, and took part in an engagement between the duke of Montmorenci and the Huguenot fleet, in which the former had the advantage ⁵.

No small degree of clamor pervaded the nation when these circumstances were fully known; and the king and the duke were reproached as betrayers of the protestant cause, to which both had repeatedly professed a warm attachment. The commons partook of the general spirit of their constituents; they were inclined to apprehend that their religion was exposed to danger from the indifference which Charles and his favorite minister had shown to it's interests; they were disgusted at the relaxation of the penal laws against catholics; and deemed it necessary to exert themselves in defence of the national faith. In a petition which they prepared, and which was supported by the concurrence of the peers, they expressed their dread of the perils with which they supposed the established church to be environed, stated the causes of the increase of popery in the realm, suggested a series of "remedies against that outrageous and dangerous "disease," and implored the deliberate attention of his majesty to the points which they recommended. Charles, though displeased at their intolerant zeal, thought proper to give a favorable answer to their demands, and promised to enforce the laws against recusants ⁶.

5. Roe's Negotiations.—Rushworth.
vol. i. p. 181—186.

6. Rushworth,

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The state of the public affairs gave rise to frequent and warm debates in the lower house. It was affirmed by the leaders of the opposition, that the king gave way to evil counsels; that the deficiency of the finances arose from the improvidence, neglect, and prodigality, of the administration; that the schemes of the cabinet were precipitately formed, and unsupported by the maxims of prudence or expediency; that persons of no wisdom or experience were suffered to guide the helm; and that various grievances prevailed, which the sovereign should be required to redress, before supplies were granted to his solicitations. It was proposed by some, that an inquiry should be made into the conduct of the duke of Buckingham, particularly with regard to the dissolution of the Spanish treaty, and the negotiation of the French alliance. Other proposals and remarks, of a nature that disgusted the court, were lavishly thrown out by the opposite party; and the whole weight of ministerial influence could not procure the most trifling supply, without the unpleasing appendage of extorted concessions ⁷.

Charles could not witness, without indignation, the acrimonious and in compliant disposition of the commons; and, his displeasure being inflamed by the insinuations of Buckingham, he resolved on the dissolution of the parliament; a measure which he immediately put in execution ⁸. This was doubtless an imprudent step, ill calculated to allay the rising jealousies of the people; and, though the behaviour which occasioned it may be alleged by way of extenuation, it argued a warmth and precipitancy which could not be deemed strictly consonant with the true dignity of a monarch.

Aug. 12.

The king's attention was now turned to the naval expedition which he meditated against the Spanish

⁷. Rushworth, vol. i.—Parl. Hist. vol. vi, vol. i. p. 194.

⁸. Rushworth,

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territories. The equipment of the fleet being greatly retarded by the want of money, he had recourse to a practice which had been adopted in former reigns, and requested his opulent subjects to gratify him with a loan; by which, and other means of supply, he was enabled to send out a respectable armament, under the conduct of Sir Edward Cecil, whom, on this occasion, he ennobled by the title of viscount Wimbledon. Above 10,000 soldiers were embarked in this fleet; and the number of vessels amounted to eighty, including those which were furnished by the Dutch in consequence of their new league with the English. Arriving, after a furious tempest, in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, Wimbledon gave orders for the attack of a Spanish squadron lying near the Puntal; but the assault was negligently or unskilfully managed, and the enemy escaped. He then sent a detachment to attempt the reduction of the Puntal, which, though not deficient in strength, soon surrendered. The soldiers now prepared for a more important service; but, abundance of wine being found in the Spanish houses near which they passed, many of them drank so profusely, that intoxication and disease followed. Finding that the licentiousness of the troops, as well as the ravages of sickness, increased, Wimbledon despaired of further success by land; and therefore, abandoning the fort which had been taken, again put to sea. He cruised for some time in hopes of intercepting the plate fleet; but the prevalence of a contagious disorder rendering it expedient to accelerate his return, he steered for England a few days before the appearance of the expected fleet, and brought back his diminished forces with disgrace⁹.

⁹. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 196.—Howel's Letters.—H. L'Estrange's History of the Reign of Charles I.

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Being examined before the privy council, lord Wimbledon accused some of his officers, particularly the earl of Essex, of disobedience and neglect; while they, on the other hand, imputed the failure of the expedition to his misconduct and inexperience. But, notwithstanding these mutual accusations, no regular parliamentary inquiry was made into the causes of a miscarriage which filled the nation with discontent. The truth seems to have been, that the ill success of the enterprise was principally occasioned by the want of harmony between Wimbledon and Essex, the former being of Buckingham's party, and the latter of the opposite faction.

When the pestilence had subsided, the king ordered a public thanks-giving throughout the realm; and, as his coronation had been delayed by that calamity, he was now formally invested with the English diadem. Soon after this solemnity, he opened a new parliament, which his necessities had induced him to convoke. Sir Thomas Coventry, who had lately succeeded bishop Williams in the station of lord-keeper, was commanded to deliver his majesty's sentiments to the two houses; and, after some pompous compliments to the sovereign, he intimated the expediency of a supply, and recommended the introduction of provident and beneficial laws. From the early debates of the commons, Charles perceived that the same eagerness for the reformation of abuses, the same inquisitorial spirit, which had been displayed by the last assembly, actuated also the present. The efforts of the popular party procured a resolution of the house, that a committee for secret affairs, and another for the examination of grievances, should sit two days in every week. A committee of religion was also appointed; and, in consequence of a report from it, articles were exhibited

Feb. 2.

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exhibited against Richard Montague, a learned divine, who, in various publications, had advanced such opinions as induced the house to declare him an encourager of popery and Arminianism. But the desire of punishing this ecclesiastic was soon absorbed by the more justifiable prosecution of an undeserving favorite, who ruled his sovereign with arbitrary sway, and whose character and disposition rendered him unworthy of public trust, and even of that transient popularity which he had acquired near the close of the preceding reign.

A physician named Turner opened the inquiry into the conduct of the duke of Buckingham, by proposing six interrogatories, founded on general report. It being resolved that common fame was a sufficient ground for parliamentary inquisition, the members continued to deliberate on the duke's delinquency, notwithstanding an attempt which the king made, by an imperious message, to divert the course of their debates into a different channel. After repeated demands of supply, they voted three subsidies and three fifteenths; but intimated that a redress of grievances must precede the legal confirmation of this grant. They then renewed their consultations on the expediency of impeaching the obnoxious duke, to the great displeasure of Charles, who, having summoned the lords and commons to Whitehall, reprehended the latter for their indecorous and unparliamentary behaviour, and afterwards, by the mouth of the lord-keeper, commanded them to desist from their irregular and disloyal proceedings, and desired them to augment, without any conditions whatever, the supply which they had voted, that he might not be constrained to exert his prerogative in the dissolution of a refractory assembly¹⁰. Not deterred by

10. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 217—225.

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reproof or menace, the commons persisted in their former course; and, not softened by an explanation which the duke gave of the royal speech, or by a specious vindication of his own conduct, they resolved to impeach him of high crimes.

An attack was, at the same time, made upon Buckingham in the house of peers. The earl of Bristol, against whom, by the insinuations of the minion, Charles was greatly prejudiced, had felt the royal displeasure in the refusal of the writ for his parliamentary attendance; and though, in consequence of his application to the lords, he had at length received it from his majesty, it was rendered nugatory by an express prohibition of his appearance in the house. Resenting this act of power, he again petitioned the lords for redress, and requested that they would permit him to bring an accusation against the duke of Buckingham, for his fraudulent conduct with regard to the Spanish treaty. The king, who had concurred in all the duke's proceedings on that occasion, was offended at the earl's presumption; and commanded his attorney-general to adduce a charge of high treason against him. Bristol was accused of having exceeded his instructions in the progress of that negotiation, insulted the late king by fallacious statements, recommended a toleration of the Romish worship, and thrown unjust reflexions on the honor of his present majesty. On the other hand, he exhibited a series of articles against the duke, whom he represented as having advised Charles to change his religion (a point of which the earl himself was also accused), taken unwarrantable steps with a view of breaking off the match with the infanta, occasioned the disappointment of the hopes of the prince Palatine, and deceived the parliament by a false narrative. The earl also accused lord Conway, one of the secretaries of state,

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state, a warm partisan of Buckingham, of various misdemeanors ¹¹.

May 8.

While these charges occupied the attention of the peers, the commons demanded a conference, for the purpose of impeaching the duke. The offences which they imputed to this minister were comprised in thirteen articles; the chief of which were, that he had neglected the due execution of his office of high admiral; that he had unjustly detained a French vessel, and seized the greater part of her cargo; that he had extorted 10,000 *l.* from the East-India Company; that he had delivered English vessels to the king of France, to be employed against the Huguenots; that he had put offices and honors to sale; had procured exorbitant grants from the crown; and had tampered with the health of his late sovereign ¹².

The displeasure which Charles felt at the impeachment of his favorite, vented itself on Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, two of the managers of the prosecution. Some expressions which they had used were reported to him with exaggeration; and he immediately committed the obnoxious orators to the Tower; but he soon found it prudent to release them ¹³.

June 9.

The duke gave plausible answers to each of the articles; and, if a regular trial had taken place, it is probable that he would have invalidated some of them: but the king's indignation was so warm, that he resolved to crush the proposed inquiry, regardless of the censorious remarks and unfavorable constructions of the public. Having sent a haughty epistle to the speaker, intimating his desire that the bill of supply

11. Rushworth, vol. i.—Whitelocke's Memorials of Charles I. edit. 1682, p. 4, 5.

12. Whitelocke, p. 5, 6.—Parl. Hist. vol. vii.

13. Whitelocke, p. 6.—H. L'Estrange, p. 45.

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should pass the commons without delay or condition, he found that, though they had voted a fourth subsidy, they were determined on with-holding the actual grant of aid till he should discharge all popish recusants from offices of trust and authority, banish the accused duke from his presence, and agree to such other requests as they might think reasonable. Impatient of the uncourtly treatment which he had received, and unwilling to encourage, by a facility of concession, a series of unpleasing demands, he signed a commission for dissolving the parliament. The peers, learning his intention, begged him to defer it; but he was so obstinately bent on the gratification of his spleen and resentment, that he refused to comply with the desire of his hereditary counsellors, and, with a rashness into which he was too frequently hurried, enforced the odious measure of an abrupt dissolution ¹⁴.

June 15.

This measure was followed by a declaration, in which the king endeavoured to palliate his precipitancy, by representing his conduct as the natural consequence of the incomplicant spirit of the commons, who had outraged his feelings, despised his gentle admonitions, neglected their engagements for the defence of the realm, and seemed to triumph in his necessities. The commons, in justification of their proceedings, published a remonstrance which they intended to have presented to his majesty before the dissolution. In this performance, they made warm professions of their loyalty and patriotism; complained of the misconduct of the duke of Buckingham, of the imprisonment of their members, of the king's menace of using new counsels, and of various grievances under which the nation labored; entreated Charles to dismiss his favorite from the administration; and promised, in the event

14. Rushworth, vol. i.—White Locke, p. 7.—H. L'Estrange, p. 53.
of

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of his compliance, that they would speedily gratify his desire of supply, and would proceed with alacrity to the accomplishment of such measures as would tend to the support of his allies, and to the stability, wealth, and honor, of his kingdom. The king, in a proclamation, expressed his displeasure at the injurious aspersions and calumnious remarks contained in the remonstrance, and commanded that all persons who had copies of it in their possession, should immediately commit them to the flames ¹⁵.

His indignant impatience having deprived him of parliamentary grants, Charles had recourse to such means of supply as some of his predecessors had adopted. He had raised, however, no large sum when he received intelligence that the king of Denmark, whose operations had been obstructed by the irregular payment of his English subsidy, had been defeated with great loss by count Tilly, who commanded the Imperial army. To provide for the effectual relief of his northern ally, to whom he now sent the 6000 British soldiers who had served in the army of the states-general, Charles resolved to demand a general loan, in that proportion which each individual would have borne, if the late vote of supply had passed into a law. Though he promised to reimburse his subjects in a twelve-month, the demand occasioned great disgust and clamor; for it was strongly suspected, that the royal promise would not be strictly observed; and the public also apprehended, that, if the requisition should be tamely submitted to, the king would be encouraged to a disuse of parliaments. But, the greater was the discontent, the more strenuously did Charles prosecute his purpose. Those who refused to comply with his wish, or promoted by their exhortations the non-com-

15. Rushworth, vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 7.

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pliance of others, were subjected to various kinds of arbitrary treatment. Many were punished for their insubmissive behaviour by being compelled to serve either in the army or navy; some were harassed by the intrusion of an unusual number of soldiers, who were quartered even in private houses; several were employed against their will in expensive services; and not a few of the gentry were committed to prison. These exertions of power could not but augment the unpopularity of the government; and complaints of insulted privilege and violated freedom resounded through the nation¹⁶.

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16. Whitelocke, p. 7, 8.—Rushworth, vol. i.—Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, book i.

C H A P. VI.

Charles commences a war with France.—The duke of Buckingham invades that kingdom;—whence he returns with disgrace.—The king convokes his third parliament.—He reluctantly agrees to the petition of right.—His favorite is assassinated at Portsmouth.—The earl of Lindsey engages the French fleet off Rochelle.—Charles dissolves the parliament in disgust;—and imprisons several of the members.—He concludes a peace with the court of France;—and afterwards with that of Spain.

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THE king had already given sufficient proofs of his imprudent attachment to the counsels of a rash minister; but he now exhibited another strong instance of the same blind subserviency, in suffering himself to be precipitated into a war with France, by the advice of the duke of Buckingham. This nobleman is generally supposed to have been actuated only by private views when he urged his sovereign to a rupture with a prince to whom he had so lately allied himself. It is said, that, during his embassy at the French court, he contracted an affection for Anne of Austria, the beautiful consort of Lewis XIII.; that his engaging person and elegant accomplishments made some impression on her heart; that the cardinal de Richelieu, prime minister of the French king, suspected the duke's amorous views, and resolved to prevent their completion; and that, when Buckingham expressed his intention of returning to France, a message was sent from that court, intimating that his presence would not be agreeable. Exasperated at this treatment, the duke
vowed

vowed revenge; and he took every opportunity of instigating his sovereign to a war with Lewis ¹.

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If we consider the violence and impetuosity of the duke's character, we shall be the less inclined to reject the opinion of those who have ascribed the rupture with France to his arrogant and vindictive spirit. As public motives had little weight with a minister whose general conduct proved that he acted more from caprice and passion than from the suggestions of deliberate policy, it is improbable that the mere desire of assisting the Huguenots, who had lately solicited the interposition of the English, would have urged him to advise his master to a Gallic war. It was at his instigation that Charles now dismissed the French attendants of his queen, in repugnance to an article of the matrimonial treaty. Though misbehaviour was alleged as the ground of dismissal, Lewis was highly offended; and not receiving what he thought a satisfactory answer to the complaints which he made on this head, or to his demands of redress for the seizure of some French ships, supposed to contain Spanish property, he arrested 120 vessels belonging to the subjects of Charles ². But, notwithstanding these appearances of disgust, every difference might have been amicably settled, had not Buckingham been inflexibly determined on a war.

The duke's persuasions having won the assent of Charles, an armament was equipped for the invasion of the French dominions; and that nobleman, though inexperienced in warlike affairs, thought proper to assume the chief direction of the enterprise. With a fleet of 100 sail, in which about 7000 soldiers were embarked, he proceeded to the western coast of France,

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1. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 31.—Cabala.—Memoires de Madame de Motteville.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

2. Roe's Negotiations.—H. L'Estrange.—Whitelocke.

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and attempted a descent on the isle of Rhé, with a view of reducing the forts which the French government had erected to over-awe the inhabitants of Rochelle. This city was the principal seat of the Huguenots, with whom, in the preceding year, Lewis had concluded a peace under the mediation of Charles. Having reason, from the subsequent proceedings of the court, to doubt the sincerity of their sovereign, who waited only for an opportunity of accomplishing their ruin, they were, for the most part, inclined to recommence hostilities, but they deemed it prudent to defer a public declaration of their sentiments, till they should be enabled, from the progress of the English, to form a better judgment of the probability of success. They therefore refused their assent to the request of Buckingham, who wished them to co-operate with him against their countrymen³.

As soon as the duke had landed a part of his army on the isle of Rhé, he was attacked by a body of French, whom, after a short but fierce engagement, he compelled to retire. He then remained inactive for some days, affording, by this respite, an opportunity for M. de Thoyras, the governor of the island, to recruit his forces, and provide for an effectual resistance. In that interval, the English might easily have reduced the fort of la Pré, the possession of which would not only have enabled them to obstruct the relief of St. Martin, the capital of Rhé, but would have contributed to their own security. After this imprudent delay, Buckingham advanced with his army to the town of St. Martin, which the inhabitants abandoned at his approach. Having undertaken the siege of the castle, which was strong and well-defended, he played several batteries against it with little effect,

3. Rushworth, vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 2.

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and then had recourse to a blockade : but, the French having found various opportunities of introducing provisions into the fortrefs, the duke began to despair of success, particularly as his troops were ill supplied with necessaries, and were also harassed by the prevalence of disease. He did not, however, retire before the marechal de Schomberg had landed on the island with a strong *corps*. A small body which had previously disembarked at la Pré, had been attacked by the English, and put to a precipitate flight ; but the assailants had not pursued their advantage. Before his retreat, Buckingham, impelled by his own temerity, as well as by the persuasions of the citizens of Rochelle (who, notwithstanding the unpromising appearance of the duke's enterprise, had now declared for the English), gave directions for a general assault on the castle of St. Martin ; but the defenders sustained the attack with such resolution, and repelled it with such activity of courage, that the duke and his followers were driven back to their entrenchments with considerable loss. In returning to his ships, he furnished the French, by his negligence and want of skill, with another occasion of triumph. Schomberg, watching the motions of the retiring invaders, charged them with such vigor, that he quickly threw them into disorder, and slew no small number of them. The reviving courage, however, of some bodies of the English, occasioned a cessation of the pursuit ; and, by the next morning, all the troops were re-embarked, the duke himself being the last who quitted the shore. He had received a supply of troops during the siege ; and the earl of Holland was employed in conveying additional succours to his countrymen on the isle of Rhé, when his progress was stopped by the news of the late retreat. In this unsuccessful expedition, the English lost about

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2000 men by the sword; while many individuals of their number perished by disease ⁴.

The appointment of the duke of Buckingham to a command for which he was generally supposed to be unqualified, had drawn severe censures from the people, who now found their opinions confirmed by his rash and unskilful management of the enterprize. But the public clamors, though loud and general, did not diminish the confidence which the king reposed in this unworthy minister. His misconduct, his errors, and his vices, were overlooked by Charles, who defended him from the chilling blasts of national odium by the warmth of royal attachment.

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The expences of the war having exhausted the royal treasury, Charles was anxious for a fresh supply, and yet doubtful of the means of procuring it. That he might profit by the advice of his principal subjects, he convoked a great council; and, after mature deliberation, it was resolved that a parliament should be assembled. Writs were therefore issued without delay; and, to conciliate the favor of the people, all those who had been imprisoned for their refusal of agreeing to the loan were restored to liberty. The king opened

Mar. 17.

the session with an injudicious harangue, in which, having urged the two houses to provide for the defence of the church and state, and the support of their protestant allies, whom nothing but vigorous aid, consequent on an ample subsidy, could rescue from ruin, he added, "If you should not do your duties, in contributing what the state at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use those other means which God hath put into my hands, to save that

⁴. Whitelocke, p. 8, 9.—Rushworth, vol. i. p. 427, 463—465.—Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 41.—Warwick's Memoirs, edit. 1702, p. 24—27.—H. L'Estrange, p. 68—70.

"which

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"which the follies of some particular men may otherwise hazard." This menace was ill calculated to please his auditors; and, in attempting to qualify it, he rather strengthened the ill impression which it made. "Take not this (said he) as a threatening (for I scorn to threaten any but my equals), but as an admonition⁵."

After the unconstitutional measures which had been pursued by the court since the dissolution of the last parliament, it was not to be expected that the commons would be less eager or strenuous than they had before been in the investigation of grievances, the detection of abuses, and the complaints of illegal government. On the contrary, they displayed a bolder spirit of liberty, a greater acrimony of censure, and a more determined firmness of opposition. The late unjustifiable infringements of personal freedom were reprobated with indignant warmth; and the king's pecuniary exactions were condemned as intolerable oppressions. After a course of animated debate, the house unanimously voted four resolutions against arbitrary imprisonments and unparliamentary demands of money from the subject. These votes were communicated to the peers, and enforced, in a conference, by the eloquence and learning of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Dudley Digges, Littleton, and Selden. In answer to these orators, the attorney-general pleaded the royal cause; and the opinions of the judges were then desired on this important dispute⁶.

Of the gentlemen who were imprisoned for withholding their contributions to the general loan, some had appealed from the tyranny of the sovereign to the laws of the realm⁷. The cause had been solemnly

5. Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 340.

6. Parl. Hist. vol. vii.

7. These were, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Heveningham, Sir Walter Earl, Sir Edward Hampden, and Sir John Corbet.

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argued in the court of King's-Bench; and the result was, that the complaining individuals were remanded to prison, the judges refusing to admit them to bail. The attorney-general advised the court to enter a judgment, that no bail should be granted on a commitment by the king or council; but the judges were not so obsequious to the royal wishes as to accede to that proposition, while, on the other hand, they were not so zealous for the liberty of the subject as to allow that bail should be uniformly given, even where (as in the present case) no cause had been assigned for the commitment. They now made a report to the upper house of their opinions and proceedings in this cause; but their answers were not satisfactory.

Apr. 28. After various debates in both houses, and successive conferences on the interesting point of constitutional freedom, the lord-keeper, by the command and in the presence of Charles, informed the parliament, that his majesty considered *Magna Charta*, and the six statutes which had been enacted (in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II.) for the preservation of personal liberty, as being still in full force; that he was determined to "maintain all his subjects in the just freedom of their persons, and safety of their estates;" that he would "govern according to the laws and statutes of the realm;" and that they should "find as much security in his royal word and promise, as in the strength of any law." The commons, however, were not content without a stronger sanction than the royal promise; and they resolved to procure a legislative confirmation of the liberties of the people. Regardless of the king's messages, urging them to proceed to the relief of his necessities, and trust to his repeated declarations for the maintenance of their privileges, they employed themselves in drawing up a
petition

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petition of right, in which they desired the lords to concur. Charles endeavoured, by an epistle to the peers, to prevent their acquiescence in the solicitations of the other house: but, though his influence produced some attempts of their lordships to weaken, by alterations and additions, the force of the petition, they did not persevere in their efforts. Having received the assent of both houses, this instrument was at length presented to the king, who, considering it as an invasion of his prerogative, gave an answer which, though plausible, was of so general a nature as to furnish pretexts of evasion. He declared it to be his will, that right should be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; that the statutes should be put in due execution; and that his subjects should suffer no injuries or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation of which, he said, he held himself as much bound as to the maintenance of his own prerogative².

June 2.

The purport of the petition of right was, that no person should be compelled to the contribution of any "gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, "without common consent by act of parliament;" that none should be molested for a refusal of such demands; that no freeman should be imprisoned or detained without the assignment of a legal cause; that no soldiers or mariners should be quartered in any houses against the will of the possessors; and that no commissions for martial law should be granted³.

The king's indefinite reply to the petition gave general disgust; and the commons vented their displeasure in the renewed investigation of abuses, and the attack of delinquents. The persons whom they

² Rushworth, vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 10.—Parl. Hist. vol. viii.

³ Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 146—150.

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selected as worthy of censure were the duke of Buckingham and Dr. Mainwaring. These were obnoxious in different ways ; the former by his actions, the latter by his doctrines. Mainwaring, in two sermons which he had preached at the time of the loan, had prostituted the eloquence of the pulpit to the support of such political opinions as were repugnant to the maxims of the constitution, and to the genius of liberty. He had asserted that the king might lawfully, in case of exigency, impose taxes without consent of parliament ; that those who had refused the loan were guilty of disloyalty, rebellion, and impiety ; and that all who should disobey the royal commands were in danger of eternal damnation. To give these arbitrary doctrines a more general effect, he had published the two discourses by the command of the king, who had also, on former occasions, encouraged the propagation of despotic tenets. Desirous of repressing the courtly fervor of clerical zeal, the commons now resolved on the prosecution of Mainwaring. They accused him before the peers as an assertor of the most dangerous and pernicious principles ; and their lordships decreed, that he should be imprisoned, fined, suspended for three years from the ecclesiastical functions, and for ever disabled from preaching at court, as well as from holding any preferment either in church or state. Charles, displeased at this sentence, soon granted a full pardon to the offender, and promoted him, in the sequel, to the episcopal bench. With regard to the other delinquent whom we mentioned, the commons seemed eager to renew those accusatory proceedings which the dissolution of the last parliament had abruptly checked. They reviled the duke as the cause of all the public grievances, and were preparing to institute a fresh inquiry into his administration, when the king, in the hope of rescuing

rescuing his favorite from a revival of the impeachment, gratified the duke's enemies, and the public in general, by a regular assent to the petition of right. The two houses having applied to him for "a clear and satisfactory answer" to that petition, he declared his willingness to please them as well in words as in substance; and it was enacted into a law by a recitation of the usual words, *Soit droit fait comme il est désiré*. On this occasion, the commons expressed their joy by loud acclamations¹⁰.

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June 7.

The enactment of this petition was a re-establishment of those principles of freedom, which, notwithstanding the frequent confirmation of *Magna Charta*, had been as much evaded by many of the sovereigns of this realm, as if that memorable instrument had never been signed. Had Charles assented with alacrity to the wishes of his parliament in this particular, instead of testifying an evasive reluctance, the jealousy which his preceding conduct had excited would probably have been soon extinguished, and the discordance between him and the commons might have been succeeded by harmonious co-operation. But, as his compliance appeared to be extorted, suspicions of his real sentiments still prevailed, and the spirit of independence threatened him with further opposition.

The commons, in the earlier part of the session, had voted five subsidies to the king, who had received, with tears of joy, the intimation of this unusual liberality. But, that they might secure a retribution, they had deferred the accomplishment of their vote till the grant of their petition. Having succeeded in that point, they could not with decency retract their vote; and, therefore, they now expedited the bill. They

¹⁰ Rushworth, vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 10.—Sanderfon's Life of Charles I.

then

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then resumed the discussion of grievances, and particularly reprobated the commission which Charles had granted to the lord-keeper, and other officers of state, for devising the "best and speediest means of raising money, by impositions or otherwise." Another object of complaint was an order which the king had given for levying 1000 cavalry on the continent, and bringing them over to England. It was suspected by many, and not without reason, that it was his intention to employ these mercenary troops in the vindication of his high claims of prerogative, and in the support of his illegal exactions; though it was alleged by his friends that he had hired them for the defence of his realm against invasion, and that, as the alarm had now subsided, he had countermanded their transportation¹¹.

After a succession of spirited debates, the commons framed a remonstrance, in which they enumerated the principal grievances which harassed the nation, lamented the unfortunate and disgraceful issue of the warlike enterprises of this reign, and condemned the inexpert, negligent, and pernicious administration of the duke of Buckingham, whose removal from the helm they earnestly solicited¹². When this memorial was presented to the king, he felt a great indignation, and said to the commons, that he had little reason to expect such a remonstrance, after his assent to the petition of right; but that, with respect to their grievances, he would consider of them as they should deserve¹³. Their present treatment of him, indeed, was inconsistent with that warmth of satisfaction which they had so lately testified, and was not a very liberal or generous return for his final acquiescence in the great object of their wishes.

11. Rushworth, vol. i.—Parl. Hist. vol. viii.—Whitelocke.

12. Parl. Hist. vol. viii, p. 219—231.

13. H. L'Estrange, p. 83.

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A considerable part of the royal revenue arose from the duties on exports and imports. These, in earlier times, had been generally regulated by the king and council, with the connivance rather than with the consent of the national legislature; and when the latter at length took the affair into consideration, tonnage and poundage were usually granted for life, soon after the accession of each sovereign. Though it was customary for the different princes to levy these duties before the parliament had passed the vote for them, their regular acquiescence in the grant implied an acknowledgment that this assembly had a power of voting or withholding the imposts in question. No grant of this branch of revenue had yet been made to Charles; but he had constantly levied it without opposition. In the first parliament of his reign, the commons had passed a bill for granting him tonnage and poundage for a year, with a view of restraining him from that occasional augmentation of the rates, which, in case of a grant for life, he would have had a better opportunity, of making: but the peers, disapproving the limitation rejected the bill. In his second parliament, some complaints had arisen in the lower house on this subject; and he had been represented as acting unconstitutionally in levying the customs without the sanction of the legislature. The same censures were now continued; and a specific remonstrance against that abuse was voted by the commons, who accused the king of having infringed the fundamental liberties of the kingdom, and violated the petition of right, by receiving tonnage and poundage, and other commercial taxes, without a parliamentary grant. While this grievance was under discussion, he informed the two houses, that he had revoked the obnoxious commission for raising money; but this intimation did not appease
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the commons, who resolved to persist in their purpose. Being apprised of this new remonstrance, Charles was not inclined to recede from a declaration which he had made after the delivery of the last, with regard to the time of closing the session; and, repairing to the house of lords, he addressed a speech to the parliament, in which he asserted that the right of levying the customs formed an appendage of his sovereignty, and that, as the petition of right was only intended as a revival of ancient liberties, not as a demand of new ones, his assent to it had by no means precluded him from the exercise of any of his former prerogatives. He then prorogued the parliament to the October following; and the prorogation was afterwards extended to the beginning of the next year ¹⁴.

During the session, a fleet had been equipped for the relief of Rochelle, which was now closely besieged by a numerous army; for the French monarch, by the advice of Richelieu, had determined on taking the most vigorous measures for effecting either the complete subjugation or the destruction of the Huguenot party. The besieged having earnestly implored the aid of Charles, he thought proper to send out a squadron of about fifty sail, under the conduct of the earl of Denbigh. This officer appeared off Rochelle in the spring; but he found the harbour so well guarded by the enemy, who had by this time blockaded the town both by sea and land, that he returned to England without the performance of any act that deserves to be related ¹⁵.

To allay the murmurs of the people, who were highly discontented at this ill success, the privy council directed the duke of Buckingham, as lord high admiral,

¹⁴. Rushworth, vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 11.—Parl. Hist. vol. viii.

¹⁵. Whitelocke, p. 10.—H. L'Estrange, p. 87.

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ral, to send back the earl to Rochelle, that he might renew his attempts for the relief of the place; but the duke, desirous of an opportunity of shaking off the public odium by a fortunate exploit, resolved to undertake the enterprise in person. Some additions were now made to the late armament; and the king and his favorite repaired to Portsmouth to expedite the preparations. The duke had not been many days thus employed, when he was deprived of his life by the hand of violence. John Felton, who had served as lieutenant in the expedition to the isle of Rhé, on which occasion his captain had been mortally wounded, had been disgusted at the duke's refusal of the vacant company to his solicitations; and, as he was in indigent circumstances, his displeasure had received some increase from the non-payment of his arrears. The general clamors of the public against Buckingham made a strong impression on the feelings of the disappointed lieutenant; and a perusal of that remonstrance in which the commons had represented the duke as the principal author of all the grievances of the nation, and as a betrayer of the honor and interest of his country, concurred with the seditious effusions of some of the ecclesiastical advocates of opposition, to urge him to the assassination of an unpopular minister, who was at the same time an object of his personal resentment. Having gained admittance into the duke's lodgings at Portsmouth, he stabbed him in the left side while he was conversing with one of his officers. The unfortunate victim instantly exclaimed, that the villain had killed him; and, pulling out the knife, fell to the ground, and quickly expired¹⁶. The murderer had an opportunity of escaping; but his enthusiasm prompted

16. Clarendon's Hist. of the Reb. vol. i. p. 24.—Whitelocke, p. 11.
—H. L'Estrange, p. 90.

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him to glory in the crime, and to decline all thoughts of flight. Being interrogated with regard to his motives for so atrocious a deed, he affirmed that they were of a public nature, and that he considered the destruction of the great enemy of the state as a meritorious service both to God and his country. We are informed¹⁷, however, that he afterwards expressed a strong compunction for his crime, and that he besought the judges to order his offending hand to be struck off before his execution.

Of the duke's character, we cannot speak in such high terms of praise as have been used by some writers. His talents were merely superficial; and his personal accomplishments formed his chief recommendation. As a politician and a minister, he made a contemptible figure; and, in his military enterprises, he gave proofs of equal incapacity. To his passions he was entirely subservient; warm and vehement both in his friendships and his enmities; rash, impetuous, and obstinate; arrogant to his superiors and his equals, though affable to his servile dependents; addicted to incontinence and luxury, and fond of the most extravagant parade.

Intelligence of Buckingham's death being communicated to the king while he was at divine service, he received it without the least appearance of perturbation, and continued wholly intent on his devotions; but, when he retired to his apartment after prayers, he lamented the loss of his friend with great warmth of emotion, and remained for some days in a melancholy discomposure of mind. He testified his respect for the duke's memory by treating his surviving family with a constant affection, by discountenancing those who had

been hostile to the deceased, and favoring such as had been attached to his interests¹⁸.

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The person whom Charles selected for the command of the fleet and army, in lieu of the defunct peer, was the earl of Lindsey, who set sail for Rochelle with a strong armament. The relief of that town was now a work of uncommon difficulty and danger; for, by the directions of Richelieu, a stupendous mole had been raised across the harbour, which, with the numerous batteries erected on the shore, the barricades of shipping lashed together, and a fleet ready for action, gave small hopes of success to the English and the Huguenots. Lindsey commenced hostilities by attempting to burn some French vessels in the road; but his endeavours were ineffectual. He then advanced towards the principal fleet of the enemy, and engaged it with great spirit, till, after a conflict of several hours, he was obliged, by the united attacks of the ships and the land-batteries, to retreat. His renewal of the engagement, on the succeeding day, was equally unsuccessful. During these transactions, the inhabitants of Rochelle were in a most calamitous state; they had subsisted for some time on the most nauseous food; the extremities of famine carried off daily victims, whose bodies remained unburied in the streets; the survivors had lost all the vigor of health, and all the comforts of existence; and hope, which had long lingered with them, now began to yield to despair. Their English allies, who had made some vain attempts to break through the mole, now resolved, at the urgent solicitations of the gallant Soubise (who, with other Huguenot chiefs, accompanied the earl of Lindsey), to make a final and vigorous attack; but, before the execution of this measure, which, in all probability, would have

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¹⁸. Clarendon.—Warwick's Memoirs.

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been unsuccessful, the distressed citizens submitted to the French king, on condition that their lives and property should be spared. Of 15,000 (or, as others say, 22,000) persons who were in the place at the commencement of the siege, only 4000 were living at the time of the surrender. The conquered city was now dismantled by order of Lewis; and, though the inhabitants were permitted to exercise their religion, they were deprived of most of their privileges¹⁹.

The success of the French king at Rochelle was greatly lamented by the English nation; and severe censures were thrown out against Charles, as if he had, on that occasion, betrayed his confederates, and connived at the triumph of his brother-in-law. But it is unreasonable to suppose, because his efforts in favor of the Huguenots were fruitless, that he was insincere or treacherous in his professions of assistance; nor is the accusation sufficiently strengthened by his subsequent conduct, when he concluded a peace with Lewis without performing his promise of procuring them a restoration of their privileges; for, though his final desertion of them may deserve some reprehension, a breach of engagement in that particular is far from being a valid ground for concluding that his enterprises during the war were intentionally mismanaged, or that he betrayed his allies to the foe at a time when his armaments were employed in their cause.

The duke of Buckingham having been represented as the chief cause of disunion between Charles and the house of commons, the death of that minister seemed to afford an opportunity of reconciliation. But, as the king persisted in some practices which were not strictly constitutional, and listened to the counsels of men

¹⁹. Rushworth, vol. i. — *Mercure François*, tome xiv. — White-
locke, p. 11. — H. L'Étrange, p. 93.

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who were not distinguished by their regard for the liberties and privileges of the people, motives of opposition still remained to stimulate the exertions of parliamentary zeal. We shall not, therefore, be surprised to find, that, when the two houses re-assembled, complaints of grievance were again prevalent. The commons began the session with inquiring into the infractions of the petition of right. A member having declared that his goods had been seized by the officers of the customs, on his refusal of paying tonnage and poundage, a warm debate ensued, in which the king was censured as a violator of the petition which he had granted. Desirous of terminating all disputes on this subject, Charles summoned the lords and commons to White-hall, and explained away the offensive parts of his last speech, by disclaiming all intentions of challenging the customs as his right, and professing that he only desired to enjoy them by the gift of his people. He had taken that revenue, he said, on the ground of necessity, assuring himself that his parliament meant to give it him in the way in which it had been granted to his predecessors. He requested that a bill to that effect might be offered to him without delay, as, by his present declarations, he had removed the only scruple which had given rise to any dispute ²⁰.

This speech did not produce the effect which the royal orator desired; for the commons had no inclination to grant the customs for life, being of opinion that an annual bill would be a better preservative against the king's arbitrary augmentation of those duties. Sir John Coke, secretary of state, moved that the bill which his majesty had recommended should be immediately taken into consideration; but it was resolved by the majority, that it should be postponed till

20. Sir Thomas Crew's Proceedings of the Commons.

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the objects of public complaint should have been discussed. Deliberations then ensued on the subject of religion²¹; and the increase of popery was represented as a flagrant grievance. The growth of Arminianism (or the doctrine of free will) was also lamented with great warmth of zeal. It was customary for the declaimers of this period, to impute, to the followers of that system, a fondness for the obnoxious tenets of the Romanists; though the connexion is scarcely greater between Arminianism and popery, than between the latter and Calvinism; a faith which was chiefly professed by those who included Arminians and catholics in the same censure. The former were gradually induced, by their aversion to the doctrines of the puritans, to adopt such political principles as differed from those of their antagonists, and to support the pretensions of monarchy, in opposition to the extensive claims of popular privilege. Hence arose the clamor of the patriots against them; and, in the general remonstrance of the preceding session, they had been reviled as disturbers of the peace of the church, and as Jesuitical incendiaries. The bishops Laud and Neile (the former of whom enjoyed a greater share of the king's favor than any of his brethren) had been mentioned in that memorial as encouragers of the Arminian sect; and Montague, whom the commons had impeached at the beginning of this reign, but whom

21. In the course of these debates, Oliver Cromwell, who afterwards made so distinguished a figure, opened his career as a public speaker. He mentioned one Dr. Alabaster as a preacher of "flat popery;" and affirmed that the bishop of Winchester (Dr. Neile) commanded him to preach nothing to the contrary. He also observed, that Mainwaring, who had been so justly censured for his sermons, had been preferred, by the interest of that prelate, to a rich living. "If these (added he) are steps to church preferment, what may we not expect?" *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 289.

Charles had since promoted to the episcopal dignity, was equally obnoxious on the same account. A. D.
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The religious debates produced a draught of articles, which would have been improved into a strong remonstrance, had not the king, who was disgusted at the non-compliance of the commons in the affair of tonnage and poundage, commanded an immediate adjournment. He had repeatedly urged them to expedite that business; but, instead of granting his request, they had renewed their complaints of his conduct towards those who had refused to pay the customs, had imprisoned one of the sheriffs of London for his concurrence with the officers of revenue, demanded a speedy and unconditional restitution of the property which had been seized, and proposed to treat as delinquents the persons who had been employed in the seizure. At their next meeting, Sir John Elliot endeavoured to promote an inquiry into the administration of Sir Richard Weston (who had succeeded James earl of Marlborough as high treasurer), by representing him as a follower of the schemes of the late duke of Buckingham, and as the great enemy of the state. When Elliot had closed his invective, the speaker (Sir John Finch), whom Charles had tutored for the occasion, delivered a royal message for another adjournment. Several members disputed this order, affirming that it belonged to the house to adjourn itself; and Elliot, having renewed his attack on the lord-treasurer, offered a remonstrance against the further exaction of tonnage and poundage. The speaker and the clerk having refused to read it, he read it himself to the house, and then desired that the former would put the question for adopting or rejecting it. He replied, that he had received a peremptory command from the king to desist from all parliamentary business as

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soon as he had mentioned the order for an adjournment. He then left the chair; and clamor and confusion immediately ensued. Denzil Holles, and other members of the opposition, drew him back to the chair, and held him in it, notwithstanding his tears and entreaties, and the efforts made for his release by Sir Thomas Edmondes and other courtiers. Selden blamed him for his disobedience to the will of the house; and Sir Peter Hayman not only reviled him with great acrimony, but proposed that a new speaker should be elected. As he persisted in his refusal of concurring in measures which he knew would be displeasing to his sovereign, "against whose express command (he said) he durst not sin," Holles was desired by his party to act as temporary president, and to read the three following articles, *viz.* that whoever should attempt to introduce popery or Arminianism, or make any innovations in the true religion, should be "reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and common-wealth;" that whoever should advise or promote the collection of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage without a parliamentary grant, should be deemed an innovator in the government, and a great enemy to the state; and that every individual who should voluntarily pay those duties, when they had not been granted by parliament, should be considered as a betrayer of the liberty of England. These resolutions, so expressive of the bold spirit of those who framed them, were voted amidst the applausive vociferations of the prevailing party²².

The irregular proceedings of the popular leaders were soon communicated to the king, who sent for the serjeant at arms; but the door of the house had been previously locked, and that officer was not per-

²². Rushworth, vol. i.—H. L'Estrange, p. 98, 99.—Whitelocke, p. 12.—Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 326—332.

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mitted to obey the order. Charles then commanded the usher of the black rod to intimate to the commons his desire of their instant adjournment; but they refused to admit the messenger. Enraged at these insults, he sent some of his guards to force the door; but, by this time, the three resolutions had passed, and the members had separated²³. Much mischief might otherwise have ensued from military interposition.

The king's resentment was so inflamed by the behaviour of the patriotic party, that, on the day of this tumult, he signed a proclamation for dissolving the parliament in the ensuing week. In the mean time, Sir John Elliot, Sir Peter Hayman, Sir Miles Hobart, Holles, Selden, Coriton, Long, Strode, and Valentine, were summoned before the privy council, to answer for their indecorous behaviour. The four first having made their appearance, underwent a short examination; after which they were sent to the Tower. The five others, being afterwards apprehended, were also committed to prison²⁴.

Charles, when he dissolved the parliament, omitted Mar. 10, the ceremony of sending for the commons to the bar of the upper house; but many of the members thought proper to attend. He addressed his speech to the lords only, with whose demeanor towards him, he said, he was as much pleased, as he was disgusted at the "disobedient carriage" of his opponents in the lower house, whom he branded with the denomination of *vipers*. To justify his own conduct, and obviate the censures of the party, he published a long declaration, expressing his regard for the liberties of his people; apologising for his receipt of the duties of tonnage and pound-

23. Whitelocke, p. 12.—Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 333.

24. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 354—356.—H. L'Estrange, p. 102.—Rushworth, vol. i.

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age, in compliance with the practice of many of his predecessors; and recounting the chief proceedings of the late parliament, accompanied with severe remarks on the conduct of the members of opposition, whose refractory and disloyal behaviour had operated as his sole inducement for dissolving that legislature of which they formed a part ²⁵.

Informations were now exhibited in the Star-chamber against Sir John Elliot and his eight confederates, charging them with having conspired to disturb the government, propagated false and scandalous rumors against the king and his ministers, opposed the royal order for an adjournment, and committed various outrages in the house of commons. When they desired the court of King's-bench to admit them to bail, the judges declined the grant of their request till they had consulted his majesty; and, after long delays, it was agreed that they might be bailed, if they would give security for their good behaviour. Selden refused to submit to this condition; and the other prisoners imitated his example, from an unwillingness to allow that their conduct justified such a demand. The judges having declared that offences committed in parliament were cognisable out of parliament, Elliot and his companions were now summoned to take their trial in the King's-bench. It had been previously intimated to them, that, if they would petition the king to pardon their offences, they should be discharged, and all proceedings against them should cease; but they rejected this proposal with indignation. On their refusal of acquiescing in the jurisdiction of the court, it was decreed, that they should be detained in prison during the pleasure of their sovereign; that, when their release should be granted, they should give security for

25. Parl. Hist. vol. viii.

their good behaviour, and make a submissive acknowledgment of their offences; that Elliot, as the principal delinquent, should pay a fine of 2000 pounds to the king; and that Holles and Valentine should pay smaller sums ²⁶.

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Of the nine gentlemen who were thus exposed to the king's resentment for their spirited opposition to his measures, some remained a considerable time in confinement; while others, on complying with the terms that were required, soon recovered their liberty. Elliot, disdaining the thoughts of submission, continued a prisoner till his death; and the public considered him as a martyr in the cause of liberty. He was a man of courage and talent, an eloquent speaker, and an active assertor of the rights of the people ²⁷.

While Charles was not on the most amicable terms with his subjects, the continuance of foreign war was not desirable. He had therefore solicited the interposition of the republic of Venice for the adjustment of a peace between him and the French king; and it was at length concluded on the following terms: that former treaties of alliance and commerce should be renewed; that no restitution of prizes should be made on either side, except what might be taken two months after signature ²⁸; that the matrimonial articles between Charles and his queen should be confirmed; and that the two kings should unite their endeavours

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26. Rushworth, vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 13, 14.

27. May, the secretary to the long parliament, affirms, that the death of Sir John Elliot was accelerated by the rigor of his confinement, for a relaxation of which his physician applied in vain.

28. By this exception, Charles was obliged to restore the provinces of Canada and Acadia, in North-America, which a party of his subjects had reduced several months after the conclusion of the peace. But, some disputes arising, these restitutions were not completed till a new treaty had been concluded in 1632.

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for restoring the tranquillity of Christendom²⁹. As no stipulations were made in behalf of the Huguenots, to whose interests the British monarch had engaged to attend, the treaty did not contribute much to his honor.

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Being equally desirous of a peace with Spain, the king gladly listened to the proposals of that court. Rubens, the celebrated painter, whom the court of Brussels had commissioned to make overtures to Charles, sent a favorable account to his employers; in consequence of which, an ambassador was dispatched from Madrid to perfect the treaty. This peace was

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a confirmation of former treaties; and, with regard to the prince Palatine, in whose cause the Spanish war had been undertaken, Charles could only procure from Philip a promise of exerting all his interest with the emperor for the re-establishment of the deprived elector³⁰.

29. Rushworth, part ii.—Rym. Fœd. vol. xix.

30. Rym. Fœd.—Rushworth.

C H A P. VII.

Charles resigns himself to the guidance of Wentworth and Laud.—His government is very unpopular.—He holds a parliament in Scotland.—He sends out a fleet against the Dutch;—whom he compels to purchase a temporary permission for fishing on his coasts.—The levy of ship-money excites a great clamor.—This imposition is disputed by the celebrated Hampden;—but the majority of the judges decide the point against him.

THE chief favorites of Charles, at this period, were bishop Laud, the lord-treasurer Weston, and Thomas lord Wentworth; whose characters we shall here delineate.

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Laud was a learned and devout prelate; but bigoted, severe, and implacable. He cherished a warm passion for the aggrandisement of the church; was superstitiously attached to ceremonial observances; and sedulously endeavoured to introduce an uniformity of worship and discipline. He encouraged, in the ecclesiastical courts, the exercise of a disgusting rigor; and the dissenters found him a pertinacious and rancorous enemy. They, on the other hand, professed an extraordinary hatred to him: they reviled him as a persecutor of the true religion, and as one who aimed at the re-establishment of popery; as an instigator of the king's arbitrary measures, and a foe to the constitutional interests and the happiness of the nation. These charges are manifestly aggravated: but it is certain, that, though he was averse to the chief doctrines of the papists, he adopted some ceremonies which bordered
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on Romish mummary; and, with respect to the advice which his sovereign received from him, it may justly be affirmed that it did not always flow from maxims of prudence and moderation, from sentiments of liberality and honor, or from principles of true patriotism.

Sir Richard Weston possessed a mediocrity of abilities, and some dexterity in business. He was strongly influenced by ambition, which had induced him to court the favor of the late duke of Buckingham, who had procured for him the office of chancellor of the exchequer, from which he was removed, by the same interest, to that of high treasurer. Thus promoted, he became arrogant and imperious, treated his former friends with haughtiness and neglect, and disobliged his powerful patron, who, if he had not been so suddenly cut off, would have removed the treasurer whom his influence had appointed. Selfish and rapacious, he procured considerable grants from the crown, while he studiously prevented the current of the royal bounty from flowing into other channels. Though he enforced the penal laws against the catholics, he was himself considered as a papist in his heart; and, as that was then a term of high reproach, such a suspicion operated greatly to his prejudice in the minds of the public. In the discharge of his great office, he did not display that provident care and judgment which were expected from him; and, in the counsels which he suggested to Charles, he was more desirous of flattering the monarchical inclinations of that prince, than attentive to the real interests of the community.

Sir Thomas Wentworth was superior to Laud and Weston in political knowledge and general abilities. He was of a bold and active spirit; but of a stern and domineering temper. He was vain of his own endow-

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ments, and disdainful of the merits of other men. He had commenced his parliamentary career as an adversary of the court; and had been imprisoned for a refusal of the loan. But his opposition was not so disinterested as to render him impenetrable to the allurements of royal favor. The offer of a peerage, and of ministerial employment, relaxed the sinews of his patriotism, and rendered him a zealous supporter of that administration which he had before condemned.

Besides these three counsellors of Charles, there was an illustrious female who had a great influence over him. This was his queen, whose beauty and exterior accomplishments had captivated his heart, and whose spirit, vivacity, and address, had completed the triumph of her personal attractions over the obsequious monarch. As she was distinguished by a warmth and impetuosity of temper, was a bigot to the papal doctrines, and possessed high notions of the royal pre-eminence, she was not perfectly qualified to give temperate or judicious advice to the protestant ruler of a free people.

While the king was swayed by the suggestions of these advisers, he retained as little popularity as the ill counsels of the duke of Buckingham had before allowed him to enjoy. They encouraged him in the arbitrary principles which he had imbibed from his father, and stimulated him to a transgression of those limits to which the assertors of constitutional rights wished to confine him.

The abrupt dissolution of three successive parliaments, and the intimations that were given by Charles, in a proclamation which he issued soon after his dismissal of the third, that he should convoke no more assemblies of that kind till he should have reason, from the cessation of the present ferment among the people, to expect

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expect a greater degree of propriety in the conduct of their representatives, gave a loose to the tongue of censure, and opened the sources of acrimony and discontent. The menace of ruling without a parliament, indicated, in the opinion of many, an intention of governing without regard to law ; and it was easy for the popular party to take advantage of that injudicious effusion, and to render it subservient to the propagation of reproach and invective, by insinuating that it was the evident meaning of the court to subvert the constitution, and establish a system of tyranny and oppression.

For the space of eleven years (for that was the duration of the period which elapsed between the third and fourth parliaments of this reign), Charles conducted the machine of government according to his own will and pleasure ; and, as he had before been guilty of some acts of power, notwithstanding the checks which he had occasionally received from his parliaments, the reader will naturally suppose, that, on the removal of the control of those assemblies, he did not observe a greater degree of moderation in his proceedings. And, indeed, even by the confession of his panegyrists, he had recourse, in that interval, to some practices that were harsh and injudicious, and to others which were inconsistent with the maxims of the constitution.

The king's proclamations were required to operate as laws ; and, to the decrees of the privy council, a general submission was demanded. Pecuniary applications were frequent ; and various kinds of exaction prevailed. Tonnage and poundage were collected with rigor ; and, on some articles of commerce, the rates were augmented. The ancient laws of the forest were revived, that the crown might profit by the penalties ; and obsolete statutes were rigorously enforced with

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with the same view. Monopolies of many commodities of ordinary use were granted to those who made liberal offers for the patents. Fines were levied on those who, having 40*l.* a year in land, had refused knighthood at the coronation of Charles. Inquisitions were made into the validity of titles to crown lands; and such as could not clearly prove their right were mulcted. By these and other means, some of which were productive of great discontent, did the king endeavour to supply his exigencies ¹.

For the support of these modes of finance, and the protection of such as were concerned in them, the court of star-chamber, as well as the privy council, assumed an extraordinary and illegal extent of jurisdiction. Trifling offences were punished by the former with enormous fines; and, under the auspices of Laud, a systematic severity pervaded its decrees. The high commission court was also a source of oppression; and, as the judges of the regular courts of law were subject to removal at the royal pleasure, their sentiments and decisions were generally swayed by their knowledge of the inclinations of their sovereign.

Notwithstanding the various means which the king practised for the purpose of recruiting his treasury, he did not procure sufficient sums to enable him to afford much assistance to his brother-in-law the Palatine, who, having a prospect of aid from Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, wished for ample pecuniary supplies to quicken the operations of that warlike monarch. Charles, however, readily consented to reinforce the Swedish army with 6000 men, under the command of James marquis of Hamilton, in whose name these auxiliaries were levied ². Having obtained from the

¹. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 53.
vol. i. p. 53.

². Rushworth, part ii.

king

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king a lease of the customs of wines in Scotland for sixteen years, the marquis raised money on that security, and employed himself diligently in forwarding his military preparations. In the mean time, Sir Robert Anstruther, the ambassador of Charles, was pleading the cause of the deprived elector before the German princes at the diet of Ratisbon; but he found the emperor unwilling to listen to any terms for the restoration of Frederic. The obstinacy of the imperial tyrant was invigorated by the success which had attended his encroachments on the liberties of Germany; but he was now threatened with a reverse of fortune from the rapid progress of the Swedish monarch. Having disembarked on the isle of Usedom, and issued a manifesto, signifying an intention of aiming at the re-establishment of those princes whom the exorbitant power of the emperor had driven from their territories, Gustavus drove the Imperialists out of the island, and quickly reduced some of the principal towns of Pomerania. In the following year, he renewed the war with great spirit; and, after some inferior exploits, obtained a complete victory at Leipzig, over the veteran forces of the emperor, commanded by the celebrated Tilly. Though the marquis of Hamilton had landed in Germany with the British auxiliaries before this battle was fought, he had not met with an opportunity of joining Gustavus, and thus lost the honor of a participation of so splendid a triumph. But this was not the only circumstance which he had occasion to regret; for he lost one third of his men by disease. He afterwards assisted the Swedes in different enterprises, in which the subjects of Charles did not forfeit their ancient reputation³.

A. D.
1631.

Sept.

3. Rushworth, part ii. vol. i.

While the Swedish hero was improving the victory of Leipzig by an extensive career of conquest, the Palatine sent an agent to treat with him on the terms of his re-establishment; and Charles dispatched Sir Henry Vane for the promotion of the same purpose. But Gustavus demanding such assistance as the British monarch could not conveniently afford, and proposing such conditions as would have reduced the restored prince to a state of servile dependence on the present champion of his cause, Charles discontinued the negotiations, and recalled both Sir Henry and the marquis of Hamilton, though he suffered the auxiliaries to continue in the Swedish service. Frederic, however, flattered himself with the hopes of procuring his restoration on more honorable terms; and, indeed, Gustavus is said to have so far softened his demands, that a treaty would soon have been adjusted, had not his career of life and glory been suddenly closed at the battle of Lutzen, where he perished in the arms of victory. The unfortunate Palatine did not long survive the illustrious Swede, dying at Mentz in the same month⁴. He left several children by his British wife; the eldest of whom, Charles Lewis, after various efforts for the recovery of his inheritance, at length obtained (in the year 1649) the restitution of the Lower Palatinate and of the electoral dignity.

A. D.
1631.A. D.
1632.

Nov.

Being now at perfect peace, Charles resolved to repair to Scotland, that he might be formally invested

4. Rushworth, part ii. vol. i. — H. L'Estrange, p. 121, 122. — Whitelocke, p. 17, 18. — In this year, Charles permitted Michael, czar of Muscovy, to levy 2000 men in Great-Britain; but, when they were co-operating with the Russians in an attempt for the recovery of Smolensko from the Poles, the assassination of Sanderson, their commander, by a Scot named Lesley, produced such confusion among the besiegers, that the enemy, making a sudden attack, routed them with great slaughter, and constrained the czar to submit to a disadvantageous peace. *Rushworth.*

with

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June 18.

with the crown of that realm, and might prosecute his father's scheme for the complete establishment of episcopal government among his northern subjects. His progress exhibited all the magnificence of royalty; the principal nobility of England accompanied him on the occasion; and he was sumptuously entertained in his way by the gentry and the corporations. He was received at Edinburgh with general acclamations, and crowned in that capital by the archbishop of St. Andrew's. Two days afterwards, he opened a Scottish parliament, which readily granted him a subsidy, and passed several useful statutes with great unanimity: but a strong opposition was made to a bill which confirmed two acts of the late reign; one for the recognition of the royal prerogative over all persons and in all causes whatever, and the other for empowering the king to regulate the habits of magistrates and ecclesiastics. The friends of the presbyterian system, apprehensive that Charles would introduce the surplice and other clerical vestments which they detested as reliques of popery, desired that the two acts might be separated, as they approved the former, but were displeased with the latter. The king, however, declared that they should not be disjoined, adding, with little regard to the privileges of parliament, that, as he had a list of all the members, he should take exact notice of those who were inclined to serve him, and of those who were not. This attempt to over-awe their deliberations did not prevent the earl of Rothes, and other opponents of episcopacy, from persisting in their dissent to the union of the two acts in one bill; notwithstanding which, it passed according to the king's inclinations. Another bill, for the ratification of the late acts concerning religion, produced some debate, because it tended to the establishment of the episcopal system;

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system; but it at length obtained the sanction of the legislature. A libel was soon after written against Charles, accusing him, among other points, of having procured a false statement of the votes of the parliament, so as to make a bill pass which the majority had actually rejected. A copy of this paper being found in the custody of lord Balmerino, who was one of the leaders of the presbyterian party, he was tried for misprision of treason, and condemned to death by the Scottish law; but was gratified with the royal pardon^s.

Having dissolved the northern parliament after a very short session, Charles made a progress to Scone, during which he took every opportunity of discountenancing the presbyterians. Before his return to England, he added a new bishopric (that of Edinburgh) to those sees which had been re-established by James; but deferred the introduction of a new liturgy, which had been for some years in contemplation, till every part of it should have been fully discussed and adjusted between the Scottish prelates and bishop Laud. The latter had accompanied Charles in his journey, and had testified his officious zeal at the coronation by pushing the archbishop of Glasgow from the king's side, because his habit did not display all the trappings of episcopal pageantry. He still continued to be the chief favorite of his sovereign, who now promoted him, on the death of archbishop Abbot, to that dignity which was the grand object of his ambition. He was succeeded in the see of London by Dr. Juxon, a prudent and respectable divine. For this prelate Laud afterwards obtained the office of high treasurer of the realm, when it had been enjoyed for a twelve-

^s. Rushworth, part ii. vol i. p. 178-183.

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1633.

month by commissioners, of whom the new primate was one⁶. The promotion of an ecclesiastic to a political employment of such importance gave rise to much censure, not only as Juxon was wholly inexperienced in matters of state and revenue, but as it manifested the king's strong attachment to the prelates, whose general want of moderation in the exercise of power, and whose zeal for the extension of the royal prerogative over the laity, had given much disgust to the nation.

As king James, in his return from a journey into North-Britain, had found that the magistrates, in different parts of England, discountenanced every species of amusement on Sundays, and that some rigid ecclesiastics warmly recommended the same abstinence from all recreations, he had issued a declaration⁷, permitting his subjects to divert themselves, after the evening service, with archery, dancing, leaping, and other pastimes. The puritans had warmly reprobated this indulgence, and reproached the king as an encourager of indecorum and immorality. But James, conscious of the goodness of his intentions, which were only to afford opportunities of recreation to those who were employed in the severities of labor for six days in the week, despised the clamors of factious hypocrites, who called it patriotism to oppose indiscriminately all the measures of government, and affected to consider a melancholy austerity as a necessary ingredient of religion. Charles, by the advice of Laud, now ratified and re-published his father's declaration, commanding that the parochial clergy should read it in their respective churches, and that the magistrates should

Oct. 18.

6. On the decease of the treasurer Weston, earl of Portland, in 1635.

7. In May, 1618,

them-

themselves forbear, and prevent others from attempting, to molest those who should indulge in the permission which it granted⁸.

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Charles was inclined to gratify his people in this respect, because he himself was fond of amusements. While wakes and revels delighted the country, masques formed the chief entertainment of the court; and, in these, the king and queen sometimes appeared as performers. A barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, named Prynne, whose austerity of disposition was disgusted at the frequency of what he deemed frivolous diversions, had lately published a work under the title of *Histrionic-Mastix* (the Scourge of Players), in which he inveighed with the most scurrilous acrimony against the encouragers of theatrical amusements, which, whether intended for emolument or for pleasure, he condemned as infamous and unlawful. In the same work, he indulged his satirical vein in various digressions, calculated to bring the government, both in church and state, into disgrace. The primate, incensed at the freedom of this writer, resolved to subject him to the jurisdiction of the star-chamber; and, while the prosecution was depending, the four societies of the Inner and Middle Temple, Gray's and Lincoln's-Inn, desirous of removing all suspicion of their connivance at the licentious effusions of an individual of their profession, entertained their sovereign and his court with a magnificent masque at White-hall, in the direction of which some eminent characters⁹ were principally concerned.

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1634.

Feb. 2.

The

8. Rushworth, part ii. vol. i. p. 193—196.

9. Particularly, the attorney-general Noy, Sir John Finch (afterwards chief-justice of the Common-pleas, and lord-keeper of the great seal), the learned Selden, Edward Hyde (lord-chancellor and earl of Clarendon in the sequel), and Bulstrode Whitelocke the histo-

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The sentence pronounced against Prynne was very severe; for it purported that he should pay a fine of 5000 pounds, be degraded and disabled from the profession of the law, stand twice in the pillory, be deprived of his ears, have his *Histrion-Mastix* burned before his face, and undergo perpetual imprisonment. While he remained in confinement, he wrote another work, which was regarded as a libel on the hierarchy; and being tried by the arbitrary court which had before condemned him, he was sentenced to lose the small remainder of his ears in the pillory, to pay a new fine of 5000 pounds, and to be branded on both cheeks. At the time of this second prosecution of Prynne¹⁰, Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried in the same court for libels against the prelates, and were subjected to the same fine and imprisonment, as well as to the loss of their ears¹¹. The sufferings of these three individuals were the subject of general conversation, and were productive of much discontent. Dr. Leighton, a Scottish ecclesiastic, had, for a similar offence, been treated, some years before, with greater severity and ignominy; for, in addition to the rigorous punishment of the above-mentioned triumvirate, he had his nose slit on both sides, and twice suffered a very severe flagellation¹². These instances are sufficient to exemplify the rancorous spirit of Laud and his colleagues in the administration, as well as the impolicy and illiberality of a monarch who could authorise such inhuman proceedings. That these clamorous malcontents, these propagators of disaffection, de-

rian. The last-mentioned gentleman has given, in his Memorials, a circumstantial account of the whole entertainment, the expence of which, he informs us, exceeded 21,000*l*.

10. In 1637.

11. Rushworth, part ii. vol. i.—Whitelocke.

12. Archbishop Laud's Diary, ad annum 1630.

served some chastisement, cannot justly be doubted; but, that the punishments which they sustained overbalanced their demerits, can scarcely be denied.

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1634.

Amidst the various oppressions which entailed the public displeasure on the government of Charles, the imposition of ship-money occasioned an extraordinary clamor. With a view of protecting his coasts from insult, and preventing the encroachments of the Dutch on the British fisheries, he resolved to augment his naval establishment, and assert his title to the sovereignty of those seas which encompassed his dominions. But, his revenue being inadequate to the exigency, he adopted the suggestion of Noy, his attorney-general, who advised him to send writs to the maritime counties, demanding vessels for the public service. In the following year, the inhabitants of the inland districts were ordered to contribute to this useful purpose; and instructions were given to the high sheriffs to remit to the treasurer of the navy the money which they should collect from the people, according to a regular assessment of their proportions of the sum necessary for the construction and equipment of the vessels that were required ¹³.

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1635.

This demand was considered by the public as unjustifiable and illegal, being unauthorised by any emergent necessity, and unsanctioned by the maxims of the constitution. Though the judges, in answer to the king's desire of their sentiments, declared that it was lawful for him, when great peril threatened therealm, to make such a requisition, and that he was the sole judge of the danger, as well as of the time and means of preventing it ¹⁴, their opinion tended rather to establish

¹³. Rushworth, part ii. vol. i. p. 257—263.—Clarendon, vol. i. p. 53.—H. L'Estrange.

¹⁴. Rushworth, part ii. vol. i, —Whitelocke, p. 24.—Warwick's Memoirs, p. 51.

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their character for courtly servility, than to reconcile the nation to an arbitrary demand, which was supported (as the earl of Clarendon acknowledges) by no other reason than what included the estates of every individual, and left the whole property of the realm at the mercy of the crown.

The first produce of this impost enabled the king to send out a fleet of 40 sail, under the earl of Lindsey, and another squadron under the earl of Essex, to clear the channel of pirates, and give security to the British commerce¹⁵. The admirals of France and Holland, unwilling, on this occasion, to dispute the dominion of the narrow seas with the English, retired with their fleets to their own ports, and deferred their intentions of attacking the maritime towns of Flanders, which Charles did not wish to see in the possession of either of those nations.

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In the succeeding year, Algernon earl of Northumberland, high admiral of England, acted as commander in an expedition against the Hollanders, whose intrusion on our fisheries had long been a topic of complaint. Having sailed from the Downs with 60 vessels, he found a great number of Dutch herring-busses employed off the Shetland isles; and, as their owners were indisposed to a cessation of their encroachments, he commenced an immediate attack, took some of the busses, sunk others, and compelled the rest to make a speedy retreat. Humbled by this treatment, the Dutch paid 30,000 pounds to Charles for present permission to fish on his coasts; and it was agreed that they should pay an annual sum for a continuance of the same indulgence¹⁶.

While these expeditions contributed to retrieve the dignity of the nation, the iniquities of the star-cham-

¹⁵. Whitelocke, p. 23.

¹⁶. Rushworth, part ii. vol. i.

—Whitelocke, p. 24.

ber continued to disgrace the government. A suit was now instituted in that court against the bishop of Lincoln, who had long been at variance with the primate. The late duke of Buckingham, finding him less pliant than he wished, had procured his removal from the office of lord-keeper; and an information was afterwards brought forward against him, in the star-chamber, for having revealed the king's secrets, in repugnance to the oath which he had taken as a privy-counsellor. When this prosecution had remained undecided for several years, it was suffered to drop, that it might give way to a new accusation, to which he was now subjected by the enmity of Laud. On pretence of his having tampered with the king's witnesses, and suborned them to give false testimony, he was condemned by the court to the payment of 10,000 pounds, to a suspension of his clerical functions, and to an imprisonment of such duration as should be agreeable to his majesty. Laud, not content with this severe and unjustifiable vengeance on a prelate who had opposed him in his favorite point of ecclesiastical ceremonies, promoted another suit against him¹⁷, for having in his possession some letters, in which satirical mention was made of the late earl of Portland and the archbishop, and wishes were insinuated for the ruin of the power of the latter. On this frivolous charge, he was fined in 5000 pounds to the king, and 3000 to the primate; and Osbaldeston, by whom the epistles had been written, was sentenced to a mulct of 10,000 pounds; besides imprisonment and the disgrace of the pillory, to which it was ordered that his ears should be nailed; a punishment which he avoided by flight¹⁸.

These ill-founded prosecutions kept alive the public discontent; and the exaction of ship-money continued

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1637.

17. In 1639.

18. Rushworth, part ii. vol. i.

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1637.

to produce much disgust, which even the good effects resulting from the impost could not allay. The produce of it gave the king an opportunity of again sending out the lord high admiral with a respectable fleet, to promote the purposes of commercial security and national dignity. A small squadron, under the conduct of captain Rainsborough, was particularly employed in the chastisement of the corsairs of Barbary, who had frequently infested the coasts of Ireland, and had sometimes ventured up the English channel. His appearance struck a terror along the African coast; and, when he arrived off the port of Sallee, he blocked up that town. An army of Moors co-operating with the English, Sallee was reduced to submission, and delivered up to the emperor of Morocco, from whom it had revolted. Those subjects of Charles who had been led into captivity were now restored by the vanquished pirates; the fortifications of the place were demolished; and the navy of the infidels suffered material injury. Captain Rainsborough was accompanied, in his return, by an ambassador from the Moorish sovereign; and, in renewal of the ancient amity between the crowns of England and Morocco, a treaty was now concluded, by which the imperial barbarian engaged for the future forbearance of his subjects. The Algerine nation, about the same time, expressed a desire of cultivating a good correspondence with his Britannic majesty ¹⁹.

Though this enterprise was applauded by the English, it did not reconcile them to the unparliamentary tax of ship-money; and they were greatly pleased with the patriotic spirit of John Hampden, a man of a respectable family and fortune, who, animated with a laudable zeal for the liberties and privileges of the

¹⁹ Strafford's Letters, vol. ii,

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people, resolved to undergo a prosecution from the crown, rather than submit to an arbitrary impost. Being assessed at 20 shillings for an estate in Buckinghamshire (which, being an inland province, rendered his objections more weighty), he boldly refused to comply with the demand; and a process in the Exchequer was the consequence of his refusal. All the judges assisted at this important trial; and it formed for a time the chief topic of conversation. The cause was elaborately argued on both sides; but, as a detail of the arguments would be tedious, we shall only mention the leading points. Oliver St.-John opened the business on the part of Hampden, and endeavoured to prove, that the provisions made by law for the general defence of the realm were sufficient on the present occasion, without the necessity of demanding ship-money; that, even if the ordinary means of defence were inadequate to the exigency, the only constitutional mode was to have recourse to a parliament for a supply; and that nothing but such a state of war as should reduce the nation to an obvious extremity of danger, could furnish a pretext for the demand which his client opposed. The solicitor-general (Sir Edward Littleton) supported the pretensions of the crown, by affirming that neither *Magna Charta*, nor the petition of right, precluded the king from providing for the defence of the realm by that measure which he had now adopted; that it was justified by precedents; and that the interesting considerations of public safety required the exercise of a power so useful and necessary. Robert Holbourne replied to the solicitor, confuted his reasonings, and effectually controverted his precedents. The attorney-general (Sir John Bankes) magnified the power of the crown, and quoted such cases as appeared to him to prove that the king was
autho-

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authorised by the constitution to levy ship-money in times of national danger, of which he was the sole judge. After an interval of several months, the judges

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publicly delivered their opinions in this cause. Eight of them ²⁰ declared in favor of the crown; one ²¹, though he supported the king's right of demanding supplies in expectancy of danger, gave judgment for Hampden, principally on account of some informalities in the process; two ²², on the more substantial grounds of constitutional justice, pronounced sentence for the patriot; and the twelfth ²³, being prevented by illness from stating his sentiments in court, signed a certificate expressive of his opposition to the royal claim ²⁴.

20. Namely, Bramston and Finch, the chief justices of the King's Bench and Common-Pleas; Berkeley, Crawley, Vernon, Jones, Weston, and Trevor, *puisné* judges of the three courts.

21. The lord chief baron Davenport.

22. Hutton and Croke.

23. Denham.

24. State Trials, vol. i.—Rushworth, part ii, ad annos 1637 et 1638.—Hampden's Case, published in 1641.

C H A P. VIII.

Commutations arise in Scotland.—Charles levies an army to quell them :—but an accommodation is soon effected.—The northern disturbances revive.—The king calls his fourth parliament ;—but, finding it refractory, dissolves it.

THE decision of the great cause of ship-money against the advocate of national liberty, struck the people with dismay, and left them small hopes of maintaining the constitution against the attacks of power, which, when outwardly supported by the forms of law, became more dangerous to freedom, than if the court had professed to justify it's present conduct only on the ground of a supposed emergency, and acknowledged it to be a deviation from the established course of legal government. Such attacks are like those of a treacherous associate, meditating ruin under the mask of friendship.

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While the king's infractions of the constitution produced among the English the murmurs of complaint, their Scottish neighbours, being of a more inflammable disposition, were roused to action by the injudicious measures of this misguided prince. From the first rise of the protestant faith in North-Britain, the inhabitants had retained a strong attachment to that branch of it which the Calvinistic principles and republican zeal of Knox had established among them. They had long resisted the efforts of James for the restoration of episcopacy ; but his power had at length prevailed over their reluctance, though he was unable to effect a complete conformity between the churches
of

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of the two British kingdoms, both in point of doctrine and discipline. Charles eagerly wished for an uniformity of religious worship throughout his dominions; and the suggestions of Laud confirmed him in the determination of prosecuting that difficult work by vigorous exertions. A liturgy had been prepared in the late reign for the Scottish church; but the introduction of it had been delayed by various contingencies. The consideration of this point had been resumed on the accession of Charles; and, after a long protraction of the work, it was completed in the twelfth year of his reign. A body of canons had also been drawn up by some of the Scottish bishops, revised by Laud and Juxon, and promulgated by the royal authority, without having received the sanction of an ecclesiastical council. These ordinances were disapproved by the Scots, as tending to the erection of a fabric of episcopal tyranny; and, when the liturgy was published, loud clamors arose, and the disgust became almost universal. It was publicly affirmed by the zealots of the kirk, that there was a conspiracy between the English primate and some of the prelates of Scotland, to undermine the true religion, and introduce the superstitions of popery, than which nothing could be more odious to the generality of the Scots. The liturgy was stigmatised by the denomination of the mass-book; and every true protestant was called upon to oppose the dangerous innovations meditated by the king and his favorite archbishop.

The nobles and the principal gentry of Scotland, who inherited the ecclesiastical spoils which their ancestors had seized at the Reformation, were disgusted at the attempts which Charles had made for procuring even a partial restitution of that property to the church. A commission had been issued by him for

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gradually receiving surrenders of those monastic and episcopal lands, as well as impropriations, which had been usurped at that period. Many of the possessors of this property had agreed to such a compromise as might augment the revenues of the church, and diminish their own authority over their tenants in these lands, without any great defalcation from their present income. Though this commission had been ratified by parliament, little progress had been made in the execution of it; and the discontent which it had produced was increased by an act for the resumption of all the lands which had been alienated in the minority of some of Charles's predecessors on the throne of Scotland. Though this act had not been enforced, the apprehensions of the execution of such a scheme kindled no small displeasure in the minds of many. The king's conduct, in distributing some of the chief offices of state among the bishops, proved another source of dissatisfaction to the temporal nobility, who regarded civil employments as less proper for the clergy¹.

The disgust of the nobility prevented them from checking that warmth of zeal which animated the ecclesiastics and the multitude against the new canons and liturgy². Exclusive of the objections which arose in

1. Burnet's *Memoirs of the two first dukes of Hamilton*, edit. 1677, p. 30.—*Rushworth*, part ii. vol. i.—*Dr. Nalson's Collection of Affairs of State*, vol. i. p. 3.

2. The canons were offensive in many respects; for they not only gave the king a complete supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs (a claim which the clergy of North-Britain were very unwilling to acknowledge), but conferred on the bishops a great extent of jurisdiction, destroyed all remains of the presbyterian system, and introduced various ceremonies which seemed, in the opinion of the Scots, to border on the fantastic appendages of Romish worship. With regard to the liturgy, the king and archbishop Laud were at first averse to any difference between that and the English common-prayer; but, in compliance

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in the minds of a presbyterian people (for so the Scots might still be termed, notwithstanding the external restoration of the episcopal system), to the new regulations considered in themselves, the manner in which they were imposed on the nation gave general offence. That some select bishops of the two kingdoms should prepare them, without any communication with the generality of the Scottish clergy, and that they should be promulgated by the sole authority of the king, without the concurrence of a general assembly of that church for whose use they were designed, appeared to the North-Britons in an invidious and arbitrary light; and unfavorable prognostics were deduced from these specimens of royal and hierarchical spirit.

Such being the sentiments which then prevailed in Scotland, the first attempts for the introduction of the liturgy met with a violent opposition. The lords of session, the two archbishops and other prelates, being assembled in St. Giles's church (then the cathedral of Edinburgh), the dean prepared to read the new service; but he had scarcely opened the book, when an extraordinary tumult arose. The women were particularly active on this occasion; and some of them threw stones at the dean's head. The bishop of the diocese mounted the pulpit, in the hope of allaying, by mild exhortations, the fury of the rioters; but his autho-

pliance with the advice of the Scottish prelates, who affirmed that their countrymen would very reluctantly submit to the introduction of a service exactly corresponding with that of England, as such a circumstance would derogate from their national independence, Charles consented to some immaterial alterations in the liturgy. As those variations seemed to countenance the obnoxious doctrine of transubstantiation, the presbyterians, filled with a strong dread of popery, represented the service-book as the offspring of the Romish missal; and this idea, being studiously propagated among the multitude, kindled a warmth of religious fury, and produced a firm determination of opposing, with the most strenuous efforts, the admission of an odious liturgy.

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city was wholly disregarded. His endeavours to pacify the populace served only to increase the ferment; and his person was endangered by the outrageous behaviour of an aged female, who seized a stool, and aimed it (though without effect) at his head. At length the magistrates of the city interposed, and, with great difficulty, pushed the most disorderly of the rabble out of the church. The dean then read the service, while the *environs* of the church resounded with clamor and riot. When the bishop had dismissed his congregation with a sermon, he was so rudely handled in his attempts to effect a retreat, that he scarcely had hopes of escaping with life; but his friends found means to rescue him from his dangerous situation. In the other churches of Edinburgh, a tumultuous opposition was also made to the celebration of the new service, the readers of which were assailed with obloquy and malediction, and menaced with outrage and violence. By the care and attention of the magistrates, the liturgy was read in the afternoon without any obstacle or interruption; but the bishop, in his return from the cathedral, was again exposed to danger from the violence of the people, which, however, he escaped by the protection of the earl of Roxburgh and his servants³.

The very unfavorable reception of the liturgy rendered it expedient to suspend the use of it till a more seasonable conjuncture should arise. The magistrates affected a great indignation against the authors of the tumults, and professed a resolution of punishing them with severity; but they were so lukewarm in the cause of the king and the hierarchy, that they did not apprehend one individual⁴. The majority of the bishops,

3. White Locke, *ad arithm* 1637, Jul. 23.—Nelson, vol. i. p. 6, 7, 8.
—Memoirs of Guthrie, bishop of Dunkeld, edit. 1747, p. 22, 23.—
Clarendon, vol. i. p. 87, 88.

4. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 88.

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finding themselves the objects of public odium, retired from the capital to their respective dioceses, and waited the intimation of the royal pleasure before they should renew their attempts for imposing the new service on their countrymen.

The unpleasing intelligence which Charles received from Scotland did not deter him from the prosecution of his purpose. He resolved to subdue, if possible, the obstinacy of the Scots; and Laud encouraged him in his inflexibility, by representing a compliance with the prejudices of his subjects as dishonorable. A petition being presented to the Scottish privy-council by several ecclesiastics, praying that they might not be compelled to read the liturgy, it was sent to the king, whose answer was so eagerly expected, that many of the provincial gentry and clergy flocked to Edinburgh to be present at the promulgation of it. But Charles was so far from giving a favorable answer, that, on the day appointed for the intimation of his will, the council, having received his instructions, issued three proclamations; one of which commanded all those who had repaired to Edinburgh with a view of supporting the object of the petition, to quit that city within twenty-four hours, on pain of being denounced rebels; while the second removed the council and court of session to Linlithgow, and the third ordered the suppression of a book which had been published against "the English popish ceremonies obtruded on the kirk of Scotland." Exasperated at these edicts, the populace, chiefly females, rose on the following day, and assaulted the bishop of Galloway, whom they pursued with execrations till he reached the door of the council-house, where he was attacked by another troop, whose rage would probably have destroyed him, had not he been enabled by seasonable relief to enter
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the house. Here he was besieged for some time; the clamorous multitude demanding the surrender of his person. Notice of this disturbance being sent to the provost of the city, he declared his inability of giving any assistance to the privy counsellors, as he himself and his fellow-magistrates were in a similar predicament; their hall being surrounded by the rabble, who obliged them by menaces to sign a paper, purporting that they would petition the king for the suppression of the liturgy, and would restore such ministers as had been silenced for having refused to read it. At length, the influence of some popular noblemen prevailed on the rioters to desist from their licentious proceedings⁵.

A. D.
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Petitions against the service now became frequent; and the nobility appeared more openly against the court than before, as they were, by this time, fully convinced of the strong aversion of the people to the innovations of Charles, and of the zealous intrepidity with which they were inspired in the support of the presbyterian cause. Various meetings of the malcontents took place; and the tide was so strong against the liturgy and the canons, that the earl of Traquair, high treasurer of Scotland, repaired to London, to inform Charles of the critical state of affairs in his native kingdom, and point out the danger of persisting in measures so repugnant to the inclinations of the majority of the Scots. The king, however, refused to relinquish his intentions, and directed the treasurer to issue a proclamation, reprobating the conduct of those who had opposed the liturgy, prohibiting all irregular meetings, and commanding that Stirling (where the privy council now sat) should be immediately evacuated

5. Nalson, vol. i. p. 10—12.—Whitelocke, p. 26.—H. L'Estrange.
—Bishop Guthry's Memoirs.

A. D.
1638.

by persons of all ranks, except those who were residents of the place, or who belonged to the council or court of session. The earl of Home, and other advocates of the presbyterian system, drew up a formal protest against the royal proclamation, and prepared for further opposition to the views of their sovereign. They quickly formed four *tables* or councils; one consisting of nobles, the second of gentry, the third of burghesses, and the fourth of ecclesiastics. Commissioners, selected from each of these bodies, constituted a general table, the edicts of which were obeyed throughout Scotland with greater alacrity than the injunctions of the king or of the lawful magistrates.

Mar. 1. This seditious combination soon produced a solemn covenant, by which, after renewing that abjuration of popery which had been subscribed in the late reign, the confederates bound themselves to oppose the late innovations (which, they said, manifestly tended to the subversion of the true religion, and of their liberties, laws, and estates); to defend the person and authority of the king, while he should maintain their privileges, both civil and religious; and to support each other in the same cause against all persons whatever. This covenant was signed with the utmost eagerness by all denominations of people; and the contagion of rebellious spirit and enthusiastic zeal spread with rapidity through the Scottish provinces⁶.

To reclaim the Scots to obedience, the king sent their countryman, the marquis of Hamilton, under the title of high commissioner. This nobleman endeavoured to prevail on the principal malcontents to renounce their covenant; but they declared that they would as soon renounce their baptism, and that all at-

6. Nalson, vol. i. p. 16 — 27.—Bishop Guthry's Memoirs, p. 32 — 35. — May's Hist. of the Long Parliament, book i. — White-locke, p. 26.

A. D.
1638.

tempts to weaken or destroy that bond of union would be entirely fruitless. If they would comply in this particular, the king, he said, was willing to suspend the canons and liturgy till they could be introduced with strict legality. The covenanters treated this declaration with contempt, and insisted on terms which the marquis was not authorised to grant. In the mean time, they continued their encroachments on the royal authority, and acted with such firmness and vigor, that the high commissioner intimated to the king the expediency of making preparations to reduce them to submission by force, as no prospect appeared of the success of lenient measures. Charles readily adopted the suggestion, and prepared for the decision of arms, desiring Hamilton to flatter the mal-contented with plausible hopes till the English fleet should be ready, and to omit the demand of a renunciation of the covenant in a proclamation which he had been directed to issue⁷. As this edict was not satisfactory, containing only promises of a general nature, it was answered by a protestation from the covenanters; and the marquis soon after returned to England for fresh instructions⁸.

Having obtained the king's consent to the meeting of a parliament as well as of a national synod, the commissioner hastened back to Scotland; and stated to the covenanters the conditions which Charles had annexed to his promise. These being rejected by the mal-contented, Hamilton made another journey to England to consult his sovereign, who desired him to try the effect of an offer for the revocation of the liturgy and the canons, the suppression of the court of high commission, and the limitation of episcopacy. He was also directed to procure the general subscription of the

7. Burnet's Memoirs of the two first Dukes of Hamilton, p. 55.

8. Burnet's Hamilton. — Nalson.

A. D.
1638.

Scots to an instrument, containing (besides the same abjuration of the Romish doctrines which the adversaries of the court had prefixed to their covenant) a solemn engagement to assist the king with their lives and fortunes against his foreign as well as domestic enemies. After his return to Scotland, the marquis proclaimed the above-mentioned concessions, and fixed a day for a parliament, as well as for an ecclesiastical assembly. He then endeavoured to procure signatures to the royal covenant; but a very small number of persons could be prevailed on to subscribe it.

Nov. 21.

When the general assembly met at Glasgow, six of the prelates, in a protest, complained of their own exclusion from it, and of the illegality of the elections. Having purged the synod, on various pretences, of such members as were obnoxious, the covenanters (for the majority of the assembly were of that party) proceeded to business. As they denied the royal negative, treated the high commissioner with contempt, and arrogated an authority which appeared to him to be exorbitant, he addressed them in terms of displeasure, reprobating the irregularity and licentiousness of their proceedings, particularly against the bishops, whom they had cited before them as delinquents. He then dissolved the synod; but the members refused to obey

Nov. 28.

his mandate, and continued their deliberations. Though a proclamation was published the next day, commanding them to retire on pain of treason, they resolved to sit till they had passed such acts as tended to the utter ruin of episcopacy. They annulled the acts of all the synods which had been holden from the year 1606 inclusive; suppressed the liturgy, the canons, and the court of high commission; confirmed

9. Burnet's Hamilton, ad annum 1638.—Whitelocke, p. 26, 27.—Bishop Guthry's Memoirs, p. 42, 43.

the covenant of their party, and condemned that of the king; deposed all the Scottish prelates, and excommunicated eight of them; annihilated episcopal government; and completely re-established the presbyterian system¹⁰.

A. D.
1638.

The covenanters had been encouraged in their factious schemes by the emissaries of cardinal Richelieu, who, when he had requested Charles to observe a neutrality while the French and Dutch were engaged in the reduction of the ports of Flanders, had found that monarch extremely unwilling to suffer those nations to acquire maritime towns which, in their hands, would prove far more dangerous to the commerce and security of the English, than while they were retained by their present possessors. The king, with a commendable attention to the dictates of policy, had intimated to the French ambassador¹¹, that, if the Flemish towns should be exposed to the danger of an attack, he would send over a fleet and army for their defence. This answer so inflamed the proud and vindictive spirit of the cardinal, that he denounced revenge against Charles, and sent an abbé (a Scot by birth) to Edinburgh, to encourage the covenanters in their turbulence, and animate them to greater exertions by the hopes of Gallic aid.

Before this application to Charles, negotiations had been carried on for some time, between the French ministry and the earl of Leicester, the English ambassador at Paris. The professed object was to procure the restoration of the young Palatine to his inheritance, by waging war with the house of Austria¹². But

10. Nalson, vol. i. — Burnet's Hamilton. — Guthry's Memoirs. — May's Hist.

11. M. d'Estrades, from whose *Depêches* we have extracted the answer of Charles.

12. Letters of the Sydneys, vol. ii.

A. D.
1638.

Charles at length desisted from the prosecution of this treaty, from an idea that the forbearance of all hostilities against the emperor and the king of Spain would be as likely to promote the interests of his nephew, as a renewal of those warlike efforts which had hitherto proved so fruitless, and which, while they exhausted the finances of an indigent prince, widened the breach between him and the Austrian family.

A. D.
1639.

The commotions in North-Britain being yet unallayed, the king did not relax in his preparations for war. The covenanters, on the other hand, were equally diligent in providing for their defence, and for the maintenance of that authority which they had usurped. They appointed a committee of war for every county, that troops might be levied with the utmost expedition. They sent agents to the continent to purchase arms and ammunition; and cardinal Richelieu, by a supply of money, promoted their bold schemes. They blockaded the king's principal castles, erected fortifications at Leith (a work in which persons of both sexes, and of all ranks, engaged with extraordinary ardor), collected taxes for their own use, and domineered over the country with great arrogance. Alexander Lesley, who had acquired laurels under Gustavus Adolphus, was selected for the command of their grand army: Archibald earl of Argyle, an artful, able, and enterprising man, was intrusted with the defence of the western shires; and James earl of Montrose, whose military talents rendered him so illustrious in the sequel, undertook the care of the northern provinces. The castle of Edinburgh was reduced by Lesley with little difficulty; the fort of Dalkeith, containing the *regalia* of Scotland, shared the same fate; and the important fortress of Dunbarton was the next capture. In different counties, several
skirmishes

skirmishes passed between the royalists and covenanters, in which the former were generally unsuccessful ¹³.

A. D.
1639.

Having obtained pecuniary contributions from his opulent subjects, Charles repaired to York, where he had ordered a rendezvous of his forces. He had sent circular letters to his nobles, commanding their attendance; and a considerable number obeyed his summons. Being reinforced at Durham, he advanced toward the Tweed, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Berwick, of which a body of English had previously taken possession. His army consisted of near 20,000 infantry and above 3000 cavalry. Thomas earl of Arundel, more famous as a *virtuoso* than as a warrior, was appointed general; Robert earl of Essex, son of the favorite of queen Elizabeth, acted as lieutenant-general; and Henry earl of Holland was commander of the horse. Exclusive of the army which these noblemen commanded, 5000 soldiers were embarked in a squadron destined for the Frith of Forth, under the conduct of the marquis of Hamilton ¹⁴.

May.

Had the troops of Charles been zealous in his cause, he would, in all probability, have soon reduced the Scots to submission; but such an event was what the generality of the nobles and gentlemen in his army were far from wishing. They were apprehensive lest that increase of authority, which he would derive from a complete triumph over the northern malcontents, might encourage him to make further encroachments on the liberties of England. Scottish emissaries had been actively employed in forming a strong party among the English, to whom they had represented the present occasion as highly favorable for an assertion of constitutional rights, and whom they had urged to co-

13. Guthry's Memoirs.—May's Hist.—Burnet's Hamilton.—Nelson.

14. Rushworth, part ii. vol. ii.—Nelson, vol. i.

A. D.
1639.

operate with them, or, at least, not to take an active part against them. Their intrigues were promoted by the whole puritan party in South-Britain; and many of the friends of the established church were also disinclined to the war.

Various declarations, the purport of which may easily be conjectured, were published by the king and the mal-contents, by way of justification of the proceedings of each; and the former hoped to derive some benefit from a proclamation of pardon to all who should submit within eight days; but the covenanters would not suffer it to be read in Edinburgh, or in any town which adhered to their party.

Information being received in the royal camp, that general Lesley had posted himself on an eminence at a small distance, the earl of Holland was detached with a body of horse and foot to reconnoitre the Scots, and (if they should not be too) strong to attempt to dislodge them. When he had approached them, he sent a trumpeter to command their immediate retreat; but they ridiculed his message, and he himself thought proper to retire, pretending that they far outnumbered his troops¹⁵. His retreat as much discouraged the royalists as it elevated the hopes of their adversaries. In the mean time, the marquis of Hamilton remained inactive in the Frith of Forth; and the general want of zeal which seemed to prevail in the royal army induced Charles to listen to pacific overtures, which the covenanters, confident of obtaining favorable terms, had with affected humility proposed to their sovereign. Commissioners being appointed on each side, the conferences were quickly opened; and a pacification was adjusted in the following manner. The king signed a declaration, in which, though he refused to ratify the

15. Nasson, vol. i. p. 231.—Burnet's Hamilton.

acts of the late assembly at Glasgow, he confirmed whatever his high commissioner had promised in his name, and consented that all ecclesiastical affairs should be determined by the general assembly of the kirk, and all civil matters by the parliament and the legal courts of judicature. He also engaged to restore whatever had been seized by his adherents, and to dismiss his fleet and army, on condition that the covenanters should immediately disband their troops, deliver up all his fortresses, make restitution of such private property as they had taken, abstain from illegal meetings, and behave, in every respect, with loyalty and obedience¹⁶. These terms received the assent of the commissioners delegated by the confederates; and Charles soon after returned to London, having appointed the earl of Traquair to preside, in his name, in the next general assembly as well as parliament.

A. D.
1639.

June 18.

The covenanters did not strictly adhere to their stipulations. Instead of disbanding their forces, they suffered considerable bodies to remain; and though their *tables* were prohibited by the treaty, they were still kept up¹⁷. Before the assembly met, some tumults were kindled by the populace, and various insults were offered to the friends of the royal cause.

While the reputation of Charles was diminished by the event of his expedition against the Scots, it suffered also in some degree from an insult offered to him on his coasts by the Dutch. A Spanish fleet of near 70 sail, commanded by Don Antonio d'Oquendo, who had received orders to defend the Netherlands against the hostilities of the French and their allies, appeared in the English channel. A Dutch squadron, consisting of 25 ships, ventured to attack the Spaniards, who,

¹⁶. Rushworth, part ii. vol. ii.—Nelson, vol. i.

¹⁷. Whitelocke, p. 29.—Nelson, vol. i.

after

A. D.
1639.

after an unsuccessful engagement, anchored in the Downs; where they hoped to meet with protection from the king of England. Charles sent a message to d'Oquendo, desiring him to retreat with the first fair wind; and, at the same time, intimated to Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, that he should consider an attack of the Spaniards in that road as an indignity offered to himself. The Dutch fleet being augmented to 100 sail, Tromp waited impatiently for an opportunity of engaging the enemy; and, a Spanish sentinel having accidentally killed a Hollander, he pretended that this was a breach of the protection afforded by the English road, and informed d'Oquendo that he would bear down upon him the next morning. The conflict was short, but vigorous. The issue of it was extremely unfavorable to the Spaniards, who, out of above 50 sail which remained with them at the commencement of the combat, escaped with only ten to Dunkirk. An English fleet, under the command of Sir John Pennington, watched the progress of the engagement, without any other interposition than that of securing some stranded Spanish vessels from the Dutch ¹⁸.

Oct. 11.

Charles was inclined to resent the injury which his honor had sustained on this occasion; but, as it was not expedient for him to risque a foreign war while he was embroiled with his Scottish subjects, he accepted the apologies ¹⁹ of the states, and agreed to a proposal for a marriage between his eldest daughter and the son of the prince of Orange. From this match descended the illustrious author of that revolution which delivered the British dominions from the tyranny of one of the sons of Charles.

¹⁸. Whitlocke, p. 30. — H. L'Estrange, p. 163 — 165, — Rushworth, part ii. vol. ii. — Nalson, vol. i.
¹⁹, Letters of the Sydneys, vol. ii. p. 626.

A. D.
1639.

The pacification of the north was of short continuance. Though the earl of Traquair, in the king's name, not only consented, in the general assembly at Edinburgh, to the suppression of the liturgy and the canons, and to the annihilation of the high commission court, but even to the abolition of his favorite system of episcopacy, the covenanters, distrusting his sincerity, were far from being satisfied. When the parliament assembled, the majority testified a desire of clipping the wings of the royal prerogative in civil affairs; and their proceedings so displeased the king, that he commanded the earl to stop their career by a prorogation, against which they protested, though they did not think proper to continue the session by their own authority²⁰. Two of the principal covenanters were then deputed to London, to remonstrate against the conduct of Traquair. Charles refused to give them an audience, and ordered them to return to Scotland, because they had not obtained from his representative a permission for their journey; but he afterwards permitted them to confer with him and his ministers. The earl came also to England to give intelligence respecting Scottish affairs; and the king appointed a select committee of privy counsellors to discuss that important subject. Lord Wentworth, who had for some years acted as deputy of Ireland, where he had displayed both his political abilities and his arbitrary imperious character, was now summoned to the English court to assist personally in the deliberations of the cabinet, whose proceedings had been, in a great measure, directed by his advice during his absence. He was received by Charles with undiminished favor, dignified with the title of earl of Strafford, and honored with the order of the Garter.

²⁰. Whitelocke, p. 30. — Burnet & Hamilton, p. 159. — Nalson, vol. i.

After

A. D.
1639.

After a series of consultations on the treatment most proper for the Scots, it was resolved that the war should be renewed against them. Charles was particularly incensed at the conduct of some of their leaders, who had addressed an epistle to the French monarch, imploring his assistance against their sovereign. Though this letter was written before the pacification of Berwick, yet, as he suspected that the authors of it were still pursuing the same schemes, he imprisoned lord Loudoun, one of the deputies of the covenanters, for his concern in that treasonable application²¹. Successive intelligence of the seditious proceedings of the Scots confirmed the king in his hostile views; and he gave orders for the equipment of a naval and military force. But his finances being at too low an ebb for the prosecution of a vigorous war, he anxiously consulted his ministers with regard to the means of providing a supply. After some deliberation, the three counsellors in whom he reposed the greatest confidence (archbishop Laud, the earl of Strafford, and the marquis of Hamilton), concurred in the expediency of re-assembling the English legislature; a proposal to which Charles, notwithstanding the risque of a renewal of the inharmonious proceedings between him and his parliamentary subjects, cheerfully agreed, in the hope of finding them equally inclined with himself to repress the insolence of the North-Britons, and chastise them for their infraction of the late treaty.

²¹ Guthry's Memoirs, p. 69.—Whitelocke, p. 31.—It is said that Charles sent an order to the lieutenant of the Tower to execute Loudoun before he had been tried; but, for attributing to this prince so flagrant a breach of justice and humanity, we have such imperfect evidence, that the story is treated as a mere report even by Mrs. Macaulay, one of the most virulent of his literary enemies. Loudoun was released, after a confinement of several months, on the intercession of the marquis of Hamilton, who is represented, in the report alluded to, as the dissuader of the king from his iniquitous resolution.

A. D.
1640.

Great was the joy of the people on the prospect of a new parliament, after so long an intermission of assemblies of that description. They concluded that the king would not have formed such a resolution, without an intention of redressing, either wholly or in part, those grievances of which he might expect to hear some complaints from the commons. The opponents of the court now used their utmost interest to procure the suffrages of the electors, that they might have an opportunity of reforming those multiplied abuses which had pervaded the administration since the dissolution of the last parliament.

To expedite the warlike preparations, many of the nobles, the privy counsellors, the judges, and others who were well affected to the crown, advanced different sums of money, on the prospect of being reimbursed by the subsidies expected from the approaching parliament. The duke of Lenox, on this occasion, gratified the king with a loan of 20,000 pounds; and an equal sum was subscribed by the earl of Strafford, who now returned to Ireland with the title of lord-lieutenant, to procure from that realm supplies both of men and money for the prosecution of the Scottish war²².

On the meeting of the parliament, the king, by the medium of the lord-keeper Finch, (who had lately succeeded Thomas lord Coventry, to whom he was much inferior in abilities and merit), mentioned the disorderly proceedings and rebellious views of the Scots, stated the necessity of employing force to reduce them to obedience, urged the expediency of an immediate supply, and intimated a desire of removing every well-founded cause of complaint. The commons took an early opportunity of instituting an inquiry into grie-

Apr. 13.

²². Whitelocke, p. 31.—Sanderfon.

A. D.
1640.

vances, against which some petitions were presented from different counties. Pym, in a long and elaborate speech, enumerated a variety of abuses, irregularities, and oppressions, both civil and ecclesiastical, and expressed his hope that both houses would concur in voting a remonstrance to the king on this alarming subject. Several days were employed in these discussions; and Charles, who always wished that the consideration of supplies should precede that of grievances, was impatient even of this short delay. He summoned the two houses to White-hall, and endeavoured, by a conciliatory speech from the lord-keeper, to prevail on the commons to expedite the supply. But they persisted in their former course; and when the peers, in a conference, proposed that a compliance with the sovereign's pecuniary demands should have the precedence of all other business, the other house voted that this interposition was a breach of privilege; an assertion which their lordships denied by an express vote. Finding that the imposition of ship-money was particularly reprobated, the king offered to renounce all pretensions to that tax, if an ample grant should now be made to him. The commons being still reluctant, Charles felt such a warmth of indignation, and so strong were his apprehensions of a vote for the abolition of that impost, unaccompanied even with a moderate subsidy, that he dissolved the legislature after a session of three weeks ²³.

May 5.

Not-

23. It has been affirmed by several writers, that the principal cause of the unwillingness of the commons to grant a supply after the king's proposal of giving up ship-money, was a declaration of secretary Vane, importing that his majesty would not accept less than twelve subsidies, payable in three years. It is also said that he had received no authority from Charles for this assertion; but, as the king deemed ship-money a legal tax, and had found it very productive, it is improbable that

A. D.
1640.

Notwithstanding the dissolution of the parliament, the convocation continued to sit; and the liberality of this assembly was evinced by a considerable grant²⁴. Indeed, for the support of a war which was chiefly kindled by the zeal of Laud and his hierarchical brethren, and which was therefore called *bellum episcopale*, it was natural to expect that the clergy of that church over which they presided would be induced to contribute with less reluctance than the temporal part of the community. The convocation also enacted many new canons, some of which were calculated for the purposes of reform, while others tended to the confirmation of those episcopal powers which had long been a source of disgust to a great part of the nation, and to the establishment of the disputed doctrine of passive obedience from the subject to his sovereign²⁵.

that he would have renounced it for less than 600,000*l*. (the supposed produce of twelve subsidies at that time), though he would gladly have accepted a smaller grant on a different ground.

24. It was an annual contribution of four shillings in the pound, for six years, out of ecclesiastical preferments. *Nelson*.

25. *Nelson*, vol. i.—Fuller's Church History of Britain.

C H A P. IX.

The Scots invade England;—and repulse the English at Newbourn.—An armistice is concluded between them.—The king assembles his fifth and last parliament.—The earl of Strafford, and archbishop Laud, are impeached of high treason.—The commons proceed with a high hand in circumscribing the royal power.—Charles is constrained, by the clamors of his people, to consent to the execution of Strafford.—A pacification is adjusted with the Scots.

A. D.
1640.

THE fourth precipitate dissolution of the parliament was a measure which the advocates of Charles have found it difficult to defend or excuse. As he had procured considerable sums by way of loan, there was the less reason for that extreme impatience which he discovered for a supply, the delay of which for a few months would still have afforded a sufficient opportunity for the support of his credit. But he was too much inclined to be disgusted whenever the commons took the liberty of investigating and exposing the abuses which prevailed, and of subjecting his government to the test of constitutional strictness. When he reflected, however, on his own conduct, he regretted the inconsiderate warmth which had hurried him to the last dissolution, and was desirous of recalling the same parliament by proclamation, till he was informed of the irregularity of such a procedure. But his regret did not so far influence his behaviour, as to prevent him from a repetition of some acts of power which, on former occasions, had produced much discontent. Lord Broke's cabinets were searched for papers; and three commoners

moners were summoned before the council, and, not giving satisfactory answers, were committed to prison¹.

A. D.
1646.

Having endeavoured, by various modes (some of which were far from being strictly legal), to provide for the expences of the Scottish war, the king was enabled to send a respectable force, under lord Conway, to keep the Scots in play till his grand army should be ready to march. The covenanters having levied a strong army, Lesley resumed his command, entered the English frontiers without opposition, and encamped at Newbourne, to the westward of Newcastle. Two declarations were published by the invaders, containing professions of an untainted loyalty, of a sincere regard for the English nation in general, and of enmity against those individuals only, who, by their malignant insinuations, had seduced their sovereign into such measures as were prejudicial to the interests of both kingdoms. Their demands, they said, were moderate and reasonable, as they only wished for a regular settlement of their civil and religious constitution (according to the plan laid down in their last parliament and synod), and the trial of their enemies by the laws of England². They also affirmed that they were called to this expedition by divine providence, and that it manifestly tended to the glory of God, the good of the church, the promotion of evangelic truth, and the restoration of national security and happiness³.

1. Rushworth, part ii. p. 1167.—Nelson, vol. i. p. 344.

2. Their adversaries, they said, were "the Canterburian faction of papists, atheists, Arminians, prelates, the misleaders of the king, and the common enemies of both kingdoms." Besides Laud, the head of the faction which they thus reprobated, the chief object of their hatred was the earl of Strafford, whom they considered as systematic adviser of arbitrary measures.

3. Rushworth, part ii.—Nelson, vol. i.

A. D.
1640.

The command of the English army was intrusted to the earl of Northumberland; and the rank of lieutenant-general was conferred on the earl of Strafford, who, having procured a grant of supplies from the parliament of Ireland, had returned to England before the dismissal of the legislature of the latter kingdom, though it does not appear that he was an adviser of that imprudent step. The general being seized with an indisposition, which furnished him with a pretence for not joining the army, Strafford repaired to the camp to assume the chief command. But, before he arrived, he received information of a defeat sustained by the English.

Aug. 28.

A detachment of 3000 foot, and 1500 horse, had been posted by lord Conway on the southern banks of the Tyne, to prevent the Scots from passing that river. Lesley sent a respectful message to him, desiring permission to advance with his army into the king's presence, that he might present a loyal petition; and, when Conway had signified a refusal, the Scottish general resolved to attempt a passage by force on the following day. He fired his artillery across the stream for some time; and the English answered it from their batteries. Having easily compelled the enemy to retire from one breast-work, he ordered a party of horse to ford the river; but these were repulsed. His efforts at length driving the English from their other battery, he commanded a second detachment of horse to attempt the ford; and these, being supported by the infantry, and aided by the cannon from the works at Newbourn, were enabled to reach the southern banks. The English foot now retreated; and, after a brisk engagement between the cavalry of the two armies, the

the superior number of the Scots obtained for them the honor of the day⁴. A. D.
1640.

In this action, about sixty of the vanquished were slain; a loss which was of less moment than the dishonorable consequences of the defeat; for lord Conway (who, at the time of the engagement, was holding a council of war at a small distance) was struck with such consternation, that he hastened to Newcastle, and, finding the generality of the troops impressed with the same feelings, retreated with an army of 17,000 men to Durham, from an enemy whom the English had frequently routed with a considerable inferiority of number. The apprehensions of the fugitives not being yet removed, they continued their flight to the southward⁵.

Charles was proceeding to join the army when the news of this disgraceful retreat reached his ears; and he immediately returned to York, where he gave directions for raising the northern militia. Strafford, though he was desirous of advancing without delay against the Scots, found it expedient to give time to his discouraged countrymen to recover their wonted alacrity; and he would then have exerted himself with his usual spirit in the reparation of the late disgrace, and the chastisement of the exulting invaders, had not his sovereign been induced to adopt pacific counsels.

As soon as the Scots were apprised of the retreat of the English army from Newcastle, they marched to that town, and demanded admission, which the inhabitants did not venture to refuse. They also took quiet possession of Durham, which the bishop and most of the citizens had quitted. They at first de-

4. Nalson, vol. i. p. 425, 426.—Rushworth, part ii. p. 1236—1238.
—Whitelocke, p. 34.—Guthry's Memoirs, p. 83.

5. Rushworth.—Nalson.

A. D.
1640.

clared that they would pay for every article which they should take; but they soon violated their promise, and committed many acts of rapine. Their chiefs now sent a petition to the king, justifying their enterprise by the allegation of extreme necessity, and requesting that he would take their grievances into consideration, and, by the advice of an English parliament, adjust a complete accommodation with them. Charles having expressed his wish for a specification of their demands, they desired that the acts of the last meeting of their legislature might be published in his name; that the castles of Scotland might be used for the defence of the people; that their countrymen in England and Ireland might not be prohibited from subscribing the covenant; that they might receive full compensation for all charges and losses; that the king would revoke the declaration by which he had applied to them the name of traitors; that the incendiaries who had been the authors of their troubles might be punished; that the garrisons might be removed from their frontiers; and that they might be secured, by a durable peace, in the complete enjoyment of their religion and liberties⁶.

The Scots were encouraged to these high demands by their knowledge of the state of parties in the south, the principal covenanters having long maintained a correspondence with the leaders of the English opposition. They found that, in England, a great proportion of the people were averse to the war in which their sovereign had engaged them, and that they considered the success of their northern neighbours as connected with the vindication of their own liberties. Even in the court of Charles, they had some useful assistants, who promoted their cause by artful insinua-

6. Rushworth, part ii.

tions. Of these, the chief was the marquis of Hamilton, who, while he outwardly concurred with the king, was far from being negligent of the interests of his countrymen. This nobleman now advised Charles to relinquish his hostile intentions, and accommodate all disputes with the Scots; and many of the English nobility suggested the same advice, and recommended a new parliament. Before he determined on a measure so disagreeable to him, he summoned all the peers of England to a great council at York; but, reflecting, after he had issued the writs for this assembly, that the result of such a meeting would be a general application for a parliament, he thought proper, in his first speech to the lords, to intimate that he had given orders for re-assembling the legislature. The demands of the Scots being communicated to the council, it was resolved that sixteen commissioners should be appointed to treat with them⁷. As the majority of these deputies were opponents of the court, their appointment not only furnished a proof of the influence of that party in the great council, but gave the Scots reason to expect an acquiescence in those terms on which they should be inclined to insist.

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Sept. 24.

The English commissioners met those of Scotland at Rippon⁸; and the articles to which they first agreed were, that 850 pounds *per diem* should be allowed for the maintenance of the Scottish army during the treaty⁹; that there should be a cessation of hostilities; and

Oct. 1.

7. Rushworth, part ii. p. 1276.

8. The former were, the earls of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristol, Holland, and Berks, and eight noblemen of inferior rank. The latter were, the earl of Dunfermline, lord Loudoun, and six commoners. *Rushworth*.

9. For some time before the commencement of the treaty, the Scots had exacted that allowance from the counties of Northumberland and

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and that a free commerce should be restored¹⁰. The king ratified this preliminary agreement; and, as the time fixed for the meeting of the English parliament now approached, he consented, at the desire of his commissioners, to transfer the treaty to London.

During the negotiation, the earl of Strafford, with a view of encouraging the king to expel the invaders by arms, sent a party of horse to attack one of their quarters in the bishopric of Durham. The assailants executed his directions with great spirit and success; but, though the earl wished to convince Charles, by this specimen, that it would not be an impracticable task to drive out the whole Scottish army, the king considered the general inclinations of his people as a sufficient reason for prosecuting the treaty which he had commenced¹¹.

While Charles was harassed by the refractory spirit of the presbyterians, he was alarmed with the intelligence of a plot which was attributed to mal-contents of a very different persuasion, even to those whom he had been long accused of rescuing from the severities of the law. It was said, that the catholics had conspired against the lives both of the king and the primate¹²; but the plot being in itself improbable, and

Durham; but the inhabitants of Cumberland and Westmoreland were now required to bear their proportion, under the promise of a compensation from the next parliament.

10. At the meeting of the commissioners, it was discovered that one of them (lord Saville) had been the chief encourager of the Scots to their late invasion, by sending them a letter in the names of the earls of Essex and Bedford, and other popular English noblemen, inviting them to cross the Tweed, and join their oppressed neighbours in the assertion of their common rights and liberties. Saville now confessed the forgery; but expressed his hope that the consideration of the advantages which might result from it would be deemed a satisfactory apology. *Nelson.*

11. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 125.

12. Rushworth, part ii.—Sanderfon,

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no proofs being adduced of it, the report of it is supposed to have arisen either from the deluded imagination, or the artful contrivance, of Charles's sister, the dowager electress Palatine, from whom the information proceeded, and whose hatred of the papists induced her to believe the reality of the plot, or to encourage the fabrication of a tale which might operate to the diminution of her brother's lenity to that sect.

The meeting of the parliament was impatiently expected both by the English and the Scots, the former of whom flattered themselves with the prospect of a reformation of those abuses of government which had long prevailed, while the latter confidently hoped to obtain a full triumph over a king whose power they had defied, and a church whose dogmas they had renounced. The continuance of the Scottish army in England gave vigor to the popular cause, while it alarmed the friends of the court. Charles had reason to be discouraged at the situation of his affairs, and to prognosticate the depression of his prerogative, as well as the ruin of his confidential adherents. But he seemed so blind to the immediate danger of his ministers, that he dissuaded the earl of Strafford from his intention of being absent from parliament. That nobleman wished either to return to Ireland before the storm of public indignation should burst forth on the king's obnoxious counsellors, or to remain in Yorkshire with the army; but Charles affirmed that he should have great occasion for the presence of so able and faithful a servant, and engaged to protect him, by the efficacy of royal power, from the fury of popular resentment¹³.

The speech with which the king opened the parliament, was couched in more conciliatory terms than some

Nov. 3.

13. Whitelocke, p. 36.

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of his former harangues. He declared his resolution of placing his entire confidence in the "love and affection of his English subjects;" and promised to "concur so heartily and clearly" with the two houses in the redress of real grievances, that "all the world should see that his intentions had ever been, and should be, to make this a glorious and flourishing kingdom." He requested them to take measures for the support of his army, that it might not be disbanded before the rebels had evacuated the realm; and adverted to the calamities and burthens sustained by the northern counties, for whose relief it was necessary to provide. He hoped that they would discard all suspicions to his prejudice, as freely as he had resigned all jealousies of their proceedings. As such a mutual confidence would render this a happy parliament, the failure of that desirable event should not, he said, be imputable to him ¹⁴.

After the preparatory business of the session, the old subject of grievances opened the mouths of the patriotic orators; and a succession of animated speeches proceeded from Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Pym, lord Digby, and other members of the lower house. These orations were preludes to an important act; for they were quickly followed by the impeachment of the earl of Strafford. Pym, who, when this great man had quitted the popular party, had threatened him with the vengeance due to his apostacy, now inveighed against him as the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny, that any age had produced. An inquiry into the conduct of this delinquent, he said, would soon demonstrate that he was the principal author of those counsels which had reduced the kingdom to the verge of ruin. A long debate ensued, the result of which was

14. Rushworth, part ii. p. 1335.

a vote for impeaching the earl of high treason. Pym was employed to communicate this resolution to the upper house, and to signify the desire of the commons, that the earl might be sequestered from parliament, and committed to prison. Though Strafford represented to the peers the impropriety of subjecting him to confinement on a general accusation, they ordered him to be immediately taken into custody; and the commons began to prepare specific articles of charge against him ¹⁵.

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Nov. 11

This bold measure struck the ministers of Charles with dismay; and some of them thought it prudent to make their retreat from impending danger. The lord-keeper Finch, and secretary Windebank, men of little merit, and servile tools of the court, were threatened with a speedy prosecution for their occasional violations of law. The secretary was particularly obnoxious for his open protection of catholics, for whose rescue from punishment he had frequently issued warrants by his own authority. Evidence being adduced for his crimination, he was so alarmed at the prospect of an impeachment, that he retired to France. Finch, being informed of the displeasure which the commons had conceived against him, endeavoured, by a submissive speech at their bar, to mollify their resentment; but his eloquence did not prevail so far as to prevent them from voting that he should be impeached of treason. When this vote was, on the following day, intimated to the peers, who were requested to imprison the accused person, the object of their search could not be found; and it soon after appeared that he had sought refuge in Holland ¹⁶.

15. Nalson, vol. i.—Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford.

16. Nalson, vol. i.—Parl. Hist. vol. ix.

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1640.

Archbishop Laud having rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the whole popular party, his friends could not expect that he would escape impeachment. After a short debate, it was resolved that he should be accused of treason; and he was taken into custody by order of the peers¹⁷. Thus the first subject in the realm, who had long maintained an extraordinary influence over his sovereign, and had, in a great measure, directed the administration of the three kingdoms, was reduced to the humble condition of a prisoner, and exposed to the risk of a violent death.

In the investigation of the national grievances, which the commons prosecuted with great vigilance and ardor, ship-money assumed a conspicuous place. A committee was appointed to inquire into the legality of that tax; and the house, having received its report, unanimously resolved that such an imposition was repugnant to the laws of the realm, to the common right of property, to former resolutions of parliament, and to the petition of right; that the extra-judicial opinions of the judges, in favor of that charge, were also illegal; and that the judgment given against Hampden was liable to the same censure¹⁸. Directions were then given for preparing articles of charge against six of the judges, who were respectively obliged to give security for a full submission to the determination of parliament.

Inquiries were made into the proceedings of the star-chamber and other arbitrary courts; and, of those who had suffered by such sentences as the commons deemed unjust, many were now relieved. Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, and other enemies of the administration,

¹⁷. May's Hist. of the Long Parliament.—Clarendon.

¹⁸. Nalson, vol. i. p. 660.

were released from their confinement ; and the authors of their punishment were required to make them a compensation. Ecclesiastics who had been imprisoned or deprived by the prelates, were restored to their liberty and their preferments¹⁹. All who had concurred in any sentence which displeased the commons, or whose conduct in various departments of office, whether justified or unsanctioned by precedent, did not accord with the ideas of the democratic party, were now pronounced delinquents, and menaced with prosecution. Patents of monopoly were declared to be illegal ; all who had obtained them were exposed to the dread of punishment ; and persons of that description were expelled from the house. By these vigorous proceedings, the commons rendered themselves formidable to all the partisans of the court ; and, from the satisfaction which such behaviour gave to the multitude, the leaders of the opposition were encouraged to greater exertions²⁰.

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While the commons were proceeding with a high hand in the correction of abuses, the augmentation of their privileges, and the repression of the licentiousness of prerogative, the king, alarmed at the spirit which they displayed, sent for both houses to his palace, and, in a moderate speech, took notice of the distractions of the realm, occasioned by the attempts of those who made no difference between " reformation and alteration of government." He promised to concur with them in the removal of innovations both in church and state, in the regulation of courts of judicature, in the reduction of his revenues within legal boundaries, in the limitation of the power of bishops, and in other objects which might tend to the public welfare²¹. At

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1641.

Jan. 25.

19. May, book i.

20. Clarendon, book i.

21. Parl. Hist. vol. ix.

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the same time, he cautioned them against that desire of change which would lead to injudicious and precipitate measures, rather than to any real reform. This harangue neither checked the career of the commons, nor disposed the lords to co-operate strenuously with the king in resisting the popular torrent.

In the mean time, the business of impeachment was not neglected. The committee appointed to prepare a formal charge against the earl of Strafford had sent some general articles to the house of lords, soon after the first accusation; and, when several months had been employed in further investigation, twenty-eight special articles were communicated to the peers, to which the earl exhibited distinct answers. Specific charges against the primate were also carried to the upper house; but his trial was deferred for some years, though preparations were now made for that of his friend.

The eyes of the public were fixed on this remarkable trial; and nothing could more strongly evince the greatness and importance of the earl's character, than the uncommon eagerness with which three kingdoms fought his ruin; for, besides the hatred which his counsels and his conduct had kindled among the English, the Scots were extremely irritated by his encouragement of the king's designs against them, and by the zeal which he had displayed for reducing them by arms to full submission; while the Irish, freed by his absence from the terrors of his vigorous and rigid administration, joined in the clamors against him, and swelled that tide of general indignation which threatened the speedy wreck of the earl's fortunes ²².

The

22. A formal accusation of Strafford was presented by the Scottish commissioners to the English parliament, demanding exemplary justice; and the commons of Ireland, having voted a strong remonstrance

The lords and commons being assembled in Westminster-hall, where the king was also (though privately) present, the trial was opened with the usual forms, the earl of Arundel officiating as high steward. The managers of the impeachment labored to prove, that the earl had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the realms of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical administration; that he had obtained a commission which conferred on him an unconstitutional power (as president of the council in the north of England), which he had exercised to the ruin of many individuals; that he had spoken contemptuously of the law, and magnified the authority of the king; that he had represented Ireland as a conquered country, and therefore liable to be ruled with arbitrary sway; and had followed this maxim in his government of that kingdom. It was also stated by his prosecutors, that he had procured a sentence of death to be unjustly passed against lord Mount-morris; had illegally deprived many of the Irish of their liberty and estates; had granted warrants to different bishops for the exercise of improper authority; had farmed the customs, and exorbitantly advanced them; had profited by various monopolies, and had practised many unjustifiable methods of enriching himself at the expence of the Irish; had imposed taxes on them by his own authority, and levied them by force of arms; had maltreated those who had repaired to England to complain of his tyranny; and (to sum up the remaining articles in a few words) had encouraged the catholics, oppressed the Scottish inhabitants of Ireland, advised France against the earl's conduct in the administration of that realm, deputed a committee to England to present it to the king and parliament, and promote the condemnation of the obnoxious peer.

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Mar. 22.

the

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the king to declare war against Scotland, urged him to violate the pacification, raised an army in Ireland for the subversion of the liberties of England, instigated his sovereign to a variety of arbitrary acts, and betrayed his trust as lieutenant-general of the English army, by promoting the success of the Scots, that the national quarrel might be rendered irreconcilable²³.

This complicated charge was enforced with great skill and eloquence by Pym, Maynard, and other managers; and repelled with equal ability by the sagacious and intelligent earl. He denied some of the charges, extenuated others, and insisted on the insufficiency of all, either taken singly or collectively, to constitute the crime of treason. To the principal articles, it may not be improper to mention the substance of his answers. With regard to his conduct in Ireland, he indirectly acknowledged that he had, on some occasions, exceeded his jurisdiction, and performed such acts as were not strictly consistent with the ordinary course of legal proceedings; but these acts were justified by the incidental necessity of the case, by the conduct of former governors, and by that imperfect state of Hibernian subordination which required a strong exercise of executive power. And, even if he had acted thus without any manner of authority, it could not properly be called a subversion, but rather a diversion, of the law, as the substantial effects of the law had taken place, though in a way somewhat different from the usual process. If he had deviated from the strict line of law, he had never been actuated by those despotic motives which were imputed to him; he had not aimed at the establishment of tyranny, but had been influenced by views of equity and expediency, or by the casual dictates of political necessity. With respect

23. Rushworth's Trial of Strafford.

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1641.

to his conduct as president of the northern council, he justified all his acts by the instructions annexed to his commission, the extent of which had not been regulated by his advice. The different counsels which he had suggested to the king, were in some instances (he said) grossly misrepresented by the witnesses who had appeared against him, and, in others, wholly falsified. That he had concurred with other privy-counsellors in a general vote, intimating that the demands of the Scots were exorbitant, and their perseverance in them would render it expedient to employ force, he did not deny; but such an opinion was far from being treasonable. That he had advised his majesty to reduce his English subjects to perfect submission by means of an Irish army, was, he said, a false assertion; and though he allowed that he had said the king was absolved from ordinary rules of government, he had expressly confined the observation to cases of invasion, or of imminent danger and inevitable necessity, and had urged the propriety of making reparation to individuals as soon as the peril should have ceased²⁴.

After mature deliberation, the earl's prosecutors were of opinion, that his condemnation could not so easily be obtained from the lords in a judicial way, as in a mode which would leave them more at liberty to follow the dictates of their private judgment, without a punctilious adherence to the rules of law, or to the

24. Nalson, vol. ii.—Rushworth's Trial of Strafford.—Whitelocke, who acted as chairman of the committee of managers, speaks with admiration of the behaviour of Strafford at his trial. "Certainly" (says this candid adversary) never any man acted such a part, on "such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with "greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in "all his words and gestures, than this great and excellent person did; "and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to "remorse and pity." *Memorials*, p. 43.

rigid

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1641.

rigid doctrines of evidence. It was therefore resolved that a bill of attainder should be brought in against him; and, to prepare the house for it, Pym, his implacable adversary, produced a paper, containing notes which had been taken at a ministerial council, on the day of the dissolution of the last parliament, by secretary Vane, a personal enemy of Strafford. The opinions then delivered by the earl, according to these notes, were, that it would be most expedient for the king to prosecute an offensive war against the Scots; that, as he was reduced to extreme necessity, he was absolved from all rules of government, and might follow the course of power; that, as the parliament had refused to supply the exigencies of the state, he would be acquitted towards God and man, if he should try other means of supply; that the Irish army might be "employed here to reduce this kingdom;" that Scotland would not hold out five months; and that it was adviseable to venture every thing on the occasion²⁵. Vane had deposed, at the trial, that Strafford had used words to this effect, particularly with regard to the reduction of this kingdom by the Irish army; but his credit was diminished by his behaviour in three examinations which he had undergone in the preparatory committee of both houses; for he had said, the two first times, that he could not charge the earl with those expressions respecting the army, though he affirmed, at the third examination, that Strafford had really made use of them. The earl peremptorily denied that he had thrown out any words to that purport; and his denial was corroborated by the testimony of other privy counsellors who had been present at the meeting, by whom it was declared that they had no recollection of such words; so that the assertion rested

25. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 208.—Whitelocke, p. 41.

on the sole credit of Vane, whereas, in cases of treason, the law required two witnesses ²⁶.

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Though this paper seems to have deserved no credit, it was subservient to the views of the party, and greatly promoted the favorable reception of the bill of attainder. After this bill had been read twice, the commons passed a resolution, purporting that the earl's endeavours for the subversion of the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and for the introduction of an arbitrary government, had been sufficiently proved; and, in a subsequent vote, they declared such endeavours to be high treason. On the third reading of the bill, lord Digby, one of the managers of the impeachment, opposed it in an able speech, representing his change of sentiment as the result of a full conviction of the imperfection of the evidence, particularly in that grand point which alone had induced him to concur in the accusation; namely, the proposal of employing an Hibernian army in the reduction of the mal-contents of England ²⁷. Notwithstanding the strong objections of this orator, which merited the attention of the house, a great major-

Apr. 21.

26. Of the expressions ascribed to Strafford by Vane, it may be affirmed, on grammatical principles, that the immediate context makes them refer more properly to England; but it may also be alleged, that, as the principal subject of debate was the war with Scotland, the earl might, by a laxity of expression, have meant that his words should allude to that kingdom, which he might term *this* as opposed to Ireland, without adverting to the kingdom *in* which he was at the time of speaking. To this we may add, that some allowance ought to be made for omissions and inaccuracies, arising either from the negligence or malice of the writer of the notes.

27. The speech of this member (who was the son of the earl of Bristol, the negotiator of the Spanish match in the reign of James I) was so offensive to the commons, that they condemned it as containing false and scandalous reflexions, declared the publishers of it to be delinquents, ordered it to be burned, and requested the king to discountenance the author of it, as he had "deserved so ill of the parliament." *Rushworth's Collections.*

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rity²⁸ voted their approbation of the bill; and Pym, when he carried it to the upper house, intimated the opinion of the commons, that expedition was highly requisite for the momentous purpose of this bill. To accelerate the deliberations of the peers on this point, and stimulate them to a concurrence with the commons, great bodies of Londoners presented petitions for the execution of justice on Strafford; the puritanical preachers of the city expatiated on the necessity of inflicting exemplary punishment on great delinquents; the populace thronged the purlieus of Westminster, and demanded, with clamorous eagerness, the sacrifice of the obnoxious earl; the agents of the popular leaders posted up the names of all the members who had voted in his favor, under the title of "Straffordians, or betrayers of their country;" and various other attempts were made to propagate the public odium against the fallen minister, and influence the decision of the wavering nobles²⁹.

May 1.

While the bill of attainder was depending in the house of lords, the king repaired thither, and sent for the commons, that they might hear his sentiments on a subject in which he and the public were so much interested. He declared that no person had ever advised him to employ the Irish army in England; that there had never been any debate before him with regard to the disaffection of his English subjects; and that no counsel or suggestion for the alteration or infringement of any of the laws of England, much less for the subversion of all, had ever been offered to him by the earl or any other individual. After an attentive hearing of the evidence, he could not, he said,

28. Of 145; for the numbers were, 204 for the bill, and 59 against it. *Rushworth*.
29. Whitelocke, p. 43.—Clarendon, vol. i.—*Rushworth*, part iii.

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1647.

condemn the earl of high treason; and, on the other hand, he could not altogether acquit him of misdemeanors. He hoped, therefore, that a middle way might be found, by which the demands of justice might be satisfied, and the apprehensions of the public removed, without that violation of conscience which would attend his assent to the attainder; for he assured the two houses that nothing should ever induce him to act against his conscience³⁰.

The interposition of Charles was of no service to his friend; for it tended only to inflame the minds of the earl's enemies, who represented the king's behaviour on this occasion as an obstruction of justice, and as an unparalleled breach of privilege. He is supposed to have been persuaded to this measure by lord Say and Sele; for he had lately admitted that nobleman, and other popular characters, into the privy council, with a view of breaking the union of his opponents, and had formed an intention of conferring, on some of their leaders, the chief offices of government; but this scheme took effect only in part, and was far from being beneficial to the royal cause³¹.

To remove all doubts which might arise among the peers, with regard to the legality of the bill of attainder, the commons had committed the defence of that measure to Oliver St.-John (who, though he was now solicitor-general, still adhered to the maxims of his party); and when this advocate had delivered a prolix, inconclusive, and intemperate speech, Strafford petitioned the lords to give him another hearing, that he might controvert the observations of St.-John; but this request was not granted; for it was deemed requisite that the commons, who had now concluded their

30. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 239.

31. Clarendon, vol. i.
plead-

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pleadings, should have the privilege of making the final impression ³².

To keep alive the popular ferment, the adversaries of the court propagated, with great industry, the rumor of a complication of plots. Pym, with an aspect of apprehension and alarm, intimated to the house, that criminal designs, both at home and abroad, had been projected against the peace of the nation; that a scheme had been devised for seizing the Tower, and procuring the escape of Strafford; and that, among a variety of plots, as desperate a conspiracy as had been planned in any age appeared to have been formed against the parliament ³³.

The horrible conspiracy to which Pym alluded, was an association of some courtiers and military officers, formed for the purpose of checking the encroachments of the commons on the prerogative, not by the exertion of force, but by the intervention of petitions from the army, and of solemn declarations of zeal for the king's interests. Some less moderate individuals wished to extend the plan, and bring the army without delay to London, to over-awe the deliberations of the legislature; but this proposal, though supported by the queen, was disapproved by the majority. A loyal petition, addressed to the king and the parliament, was drawn up, and sent to court for the royal perusal; and, from an idea that it might operate as an antidote to the contagion of the popular petitions, Charles signified his approbation of it ³⁴. It was then sent back to the army, and signed by some of the officers; but, divisions arising among them, the scheme was communicated to the democratic leaders, and aggravated

32. Nalson, vol. ii.—Rushworth's Trial of Strafford.

33. Rushworth's Collections, part iii.—Clarendon, vol. i.

34. Clarendon, vol. i p. 194.

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1641.

by their arts into a dreadful plot, the authors of which aimed at the destruction of the parliament, and the subversion of the liberties of the people. Two members of the lower house (Percy and Jermyn), and others who were concerned in the association, fled from the rigor of parliamentary cognisance; and their retreat, accompanied with a report of the queen's intention of repairing to Portsmouth (which, it was said, she intended to fortify against the parliament, by the aid of her English adherents and a body of French troops), furnished the demagogues with an opportunity of enlarging the superstructure of calumny, and of seducing the multitude into a belief of the existence of a nefarious and sanguinary conspiracy.

When Pym had harangued the house on the dangerous machinations of the court, it was resolved that an association, resembling the Scottish covenant, should be adopted by the friends of the public welfare, for the preservation of the inestimable blessings of law and liberty, the maintenance of the true religion, and (which was intended rather as a formal than a substantial appendage) the defence of the king's person and dignity. A *protestation* to that effect was prepared; and it was embraced on that day by above 300 members, whose example the majority of the peers quickly followed. Directions were then given to the provincial sheriffs, to promote throughout the kingdom the adoption of this bond of union³⁵. May 3.

The crisis of Strafford's fate now approached. His enemies among the peers (for the tumultuous rage and dreadful menaces of the rabble deterred most of those who were inclined to vote in his behalf, from attending the house) declared him guilty of high treason, with

35. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.

A. D.
1641.

May 8.

the assent of the judges, who were now as much influenced by the apprehensions of parliamentary vengeance, as they had been, on former occasions, by the fear of offending the court. Though the temporal peers, exclusive of minors, were near 120 in number, only 45 were in the house when the bill of attainder passed; and, of these, 19 dissented from it³⁶. As it affected life, the prelates were not suffered to give their votes on this bill.

During the progress of this rigorous bill, the king was tortured with the utmost perplexity. He was distracted between the dread of the popular frenzy, and the conscientious horror which he felt at the thoughts of sacrificing an esteemed friend, whose zealous loyalty, and fidelity of service, merited, in his opinion, the greatest rewards. On the one hand, he considered that his refusal of gratifying the wishes of so great a proportion of his subjects, who, from principle, from prejudice, from faction, or other motives, sought the destruction of the unfortunate earl, might be productive of violent commotions, from the ebullition of that rage which had already prompted the populace to invade the freedom of parliament, and treat with insults and threats the friends of Strafford and the advocates of moderation. On the other hand, he dreaded the consequences of so great a concession to the encroaching spirit of the commons, and was apprehensive lest such a specimen of his facility of compliance, in a point which, he had declared, no consideration whatever should induce him to abandon, should encourage them

36. This is Whitelocke's account of the division: but lord Clarendon affirms, that only 11, out of 46, voted against the bill; and Sir George Radcliffe, the biographer of the earl of Strafford, makes the number of peers only 38; non-contents 16, contents 22.

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to prosecute their bold career with redoubled vigor, to punish with death the services of his most faithful and experienced ministers, and riot in the spoils of his diminished prerogative.

Having been informed of the very unfavorable reception which the king's late speech had met with, both from the parliament and the people, whose demands of justice were more vigorously urged in consequence of it, the earl of Strafford (according to cotemporary authors of both parties) wrote a letter to Charles, requesting him to banish those scruples of conscience which rendered him averse to the sacrifice of an individual whom he did not deem deserving of death, and prevent, by agreeing to the bill, those mischiefs which might result from his protection of an obnoxious minister³⁷. But the earl seems to have repented of this magnanimity; for, when he found that the king, after long and agonising struggles, and frequent consultations with his confidential advisers, had given his sanction to the fatal bill, he is said to have exclaimed. "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation³⁸."

When Charles had passed the bill for the death of his friend, he felt such remorse for his compliance, that he wrote to the house of peers an epistle of supplication, which he ordered the prince of Wales to present. In this letter, he expressed the strongest wishes for the concurrence of his parliament in an act

37. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 251.—Clarendon, vol. i. p. 203.—Whitelocke, p. 44.—H. L'Estrange, p. 257.—Warwick, p. 162.—Carte has endeavoured to prove, by hear-say evidence, that this letter was forged by an agent of the popular party, with a view of subduing the king's reluctance; but, however improbable the earl's behaviour may seem, something more than traditional authority is necessary to invalidate a circumstance in which so many writers of that period agree.

38. Whitelocke, p. 44.

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of mercy to the condemned earl, whose perpetual imprisonment, he thought, would sufficiently answer the demands of national justice. If this, he said, could be granted without the discontent of his people, it would be an unspeakable satisfaction to him. No success attended the royal application; for, on the following day, the earl was led to execution. His behaviour, in this afflictive scene, was calm and dignified. In his final speech, he vindicated the goodness of his intentions, as having aimed at the "joint and individual prosperity of the king and his people;" declared that, instead of being averse to parliaments, he had always regarded them as the best means of making both the sovereign and the nation happy; desired every one to consider seriously, whether the beginning of the supposed happiness of the people should be written in letters of blood; expressed his apprehensions that they were pursuing an improper course; professed his attachment to the church of England; requested of others that forgiveness which he cordially extended to them; and delivered instructions, by the medium of his brother, to his absent children. He then, with the utmost composure, prepared his person for the block; and, at one stroke, the executioner performed his office³⁹.

To what we have before said of this nobleman, we shall only add, that his great abilities, inflexible loyalty, and admirable intrepidity, by rendering him a valuable servant to the king, exposed him to the rancorous hatred of the demagogues, who despaired of the success of their attacks on the prerogative, while Strafford survived to direct and animate the operations of the royalists. They flattered themselves with the idea, that the destruction of this great man would

39. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 265—269.—Clarendon, vol. i. prove

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prove so effectual a discouragement to all who should be inclined to serve the king with vigor, as to pave the way for the triumph of their party. Their exultations at his death argued their dread of his character, rather than their conviction of the justice of his sentence. Though his arbitrary principles and conduct justified some severity against him, his capital condemnation was not authorised by legal strictness, the violence of popular fury overbearing the suggestions of reason and moderation ⁴⁰.

For the support of the proceedings of the commons, particularly against the earl of Strafford, the Scottish troops had prolonged their continuance in England. Their demand of indemnification had procured from the parliament of this kingdom a vote for allowing them 300,000 pounds, by way of brotherly assistance, exclusive of the constant payment of 850 pounds *per diem* for their maintenance. After some discussion, the demands which they had made on their invasion were granted, as were likewise most of their subsequent requisitions. They then returned into their own country, triumphing in the success of their efforts ⁴¹.

40. The parliament, soon after his death, thought proper to restore his children in blood and honor; and, in the subsequent reign, the act of attainder was completely reversed.

41. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.—Bishop Guthry's Memoirs, p. 100.

C H A P. X.

The catholics of Ireland rebel;—and massacre a great number of protestants. — The king endeavours, but without success, to suppress this rebellion. — The commons of England publish a very acrimonious remonstrance concerning the state of the nation. — They encourage tumults in the metropolis. — They impeach twelve prelates of treason. — Charles, in person, demands the surrender of five of their members. — He is driven from London by the continuance of the tumults. — Various symptoms appear of an intestine war.

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TO preserve an uninterrupted narrative of the proceedings against the earl of Strafford, we deferred the mention of some important circumstances which occurred in parliament during the prosecution of that celebrated peer. Willing to prevent a long intermission of the meetings of the legislative body, the commons passed a bill of an extraordinary nature, to which the lords, after several conferences, agreed. It purported, that, if the king should not summon a parliament before a certain day in every third year from the last sitting of that assembly, it should be incumbent on the keeper of the great seal to issue writs for the meeting of the peers, as well as for the election of the commons; that the refusal of such officer, and of others who should in that case be required to superintend the same business, should be punished; and that no parliament should be dissolved or prorogued within fifty days, without the consent of both houses¹. Though Charles was far from being pleased with this bill, he

1. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 189.

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gave his sanction to it; but warned the two houses, at the time, against an indulgence of that spirit of innovation which seemed to actuate them. Not content with this favor, which was acknowledged by a solemn return of thanks to the king, and was celebrated with bell-ringing and bonfires throughout the metropolis, the two houses afterwards passed a bill for continuing their parliamentary existence during their own pleasure. As a pretence for this invasion of the prerogative, they alleged, that the risque of a dissolution was an obstacle to their obtaining of such loans from the city as were requisite for the speedy payment of the English and Scottish armies. This bill provided, that the present parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without the concurrence of both houses. It was offered to the king with the bill of attainder; and the latter so far absorbed the attention of Charles, that he little reflected on the mischievous consequences which the former might produce. Having procured his assent to this unprecedented suspension of his prerogative, the popular chiefs prepared for further attacks on the authority of their degraded sovereign².

The court of Star-chamber having been frequently used as an engine of tyranny, rather than as a medium of impartial judicature, the commons deserve no censure for their endeavours to effect the abolition of an arbitrary jurisdiction. A bill was introduced for that purpose, which quickly received the assent of the house; and the peers did not refuse their concurrence, though some of them wished only for a limitation of the power of this court. The same bill abridged the prerogative by diminishing the juridical authority of the privy council, which had occasionally been exercised in an oppressive manner. A bill was also voted

2. Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth.

for

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for the suppression of the court of high commission, which had been rendered odious to the public by the exertions of hierarchical despotism. These two bills, though considered by Charles as repugnant to the fundamental laws of the realm, were sanctioned by him, to the great joy of the commons, who were displeased even at the short delay of two days which he reserved for deliberating on measures of such importance. When they were offered to him, a bill for a poll-tax was also presented. This was a very unusual impost, and far from being a popular one; but, from the necessity of providing money for the forces, it did not produce much repining on this occasion ³.

The commons, in this busy year, made some bold attacks on the prelates. The subserviency of this body of men to the court, as well as their desire of domineering over the laity, prevented them from being the favorites of the people; and their fondness for unnecessary ceremonies gave particular disgust to the puritan party. Several petitions had been presented for the abolition of episcopacy; and warm debates had ensued on the subject. A bill had been framed for depriving bishops of their votes in parliament; but, though the commons agreed to it, the lords refused to adopt it. While this bill remained in the upper house, a measure of a more decisive nature was the object of another bill, which was directed to the accomplishment of the prayer of the petitions. After much discussion, this scheme was deferred by the commons to a more convenient season ⁴. They now resolved, however, to subject many of the bishops to an impeachment for their concern in the canons which had been

3. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.—Nelson, vol. ii. The highest sum paid, in consequence of the poll-tax, was 100 pounds; and the lowest sum was six-pence.

4. Clarendon, vol. i.—Parl. Hist. vol. ix.

promulgated in the preceding year. They had voted, in the earlier part of the session, that the clergy had no right to enact canons without the assent of parliament; that the new canons contained matters contrary to the laws of the realm and the liberties of the people; and that the grant of a benevolence to the king by the late convocation, which sat after the dissolution of the parliament, was illegal. They afterwards voted that heavy fines should be imposed on the primate and his brethren, for their conduct on that occasion; but the bill brought in for this purpose was not carried into effect. Their resentment against the prelates still continuing, they subjected thirteen of them to an impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors, founded on their proceedings in the convocation⁵. These repeated attacks kept the heads of the church in constant alarm; and they foresaw the ruin of their interests from the prevalence of the popular party.

At the desire of the Scottish commissioners, who deemed the royal presence expedient for the settlement of their country, Charles now resolved on a northern journey. Perhaps he flattered himself with the hope, that, by his concessions to the Scots, and by a cultivation of the good graces of the principal covenanters, he should be able to disunite them from the English malcontents, and prevent the latter from obtaining further assistance by the services of those whom they had so signally obliged in the present parliament. Suspecting his views, the commons thought proper to appoint commissioners who should act as spies on his conduct, on pretence of superintending the execution of the treaty with the Scots; and, the lords concurring in this scheme, William earl of Bedford⁶, Edward lord Howard,

⁵. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 359.

⁶. This was the son of Francis Russell, earl of Bedford, who was
one.

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ard, Sir Philip Stapylton, Sir William Armyne, Hampden, and Fiennes, were ordered to attend the king as parliamentary delegates ⁷.

Aug.

As soon as Charles had reached his northern realm, he manifested his desire of completely gratifying the wishes of the Scots. He not only performed whatever he had promised to that nation, but even gave way to various encroachments, particularly to a demand made by the Scottish parliament, importing that none of the officers of state, privy counsellors, or judges, should be appointed without the consent of that assembly. He accompanied these concessions with the grant of honors to some of his adversaries, and of pensions and crownlands to others. He conferred the dignity of marquis on the earl of Argyle; that of earl on the lords Loudoun, Almond, and Lindfay, as well as on general Lesley; inferior titles on several other covenanters ⁸. On the marquis of Hamilton, whom he considered as his friend, though that nobleman seemed to waver between the two parties, he afterwards bestowed the rank of a duke.

While the king was employed in re-establishing the tranquillity of the north, a storm burst forth in his western dominions. A rebellion, accompanied with circumstances of horrible barbarity, arose in Ireland. The majority of the inhabitants of that kingdom were then (as well as at the present time) addicted to the Romish superstition; and, as liberal sentiments towards persons of an opposite persuasion were uncommon in that age, they cherished an implacable aversion to a protestant government. To be

one of the most intelligent and respectable leaders of the opposition, and whose integrity and moderation would have induced him, had he not died about this time, to oppose the career of his friends, when they sunk their patriotic views in the pursuits of interested ambition.

7. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.

8. Guthry's Memoirs,

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considered as sectaries, to be deprived of the public exercise of their worship, to be subjected to the sway of odious heretics, appeared to them as intolerable grievances; and they eagerly wished for an opportunity of re-establishing their ancient faith on the ruins of the reformed system. Their priests encouraged them in these sentiments; and the emissaries of the papal court promoted, by their indefatigable intrigues, this holy purpose. The descendants of the original Hibernians, besides that bigoted attachment to popery which rendered them unfriendly to the protestant posterity of the English conquerors, retained an irreconcilable hatred to the same persons on political and national grounds. They resented the contempt with which the latter had been accustomed to treat them; considered them as interlopers, whose expulsion they were justified in attempting; regretted the abolition of their former customs and tenures; and repined at the establishment of the English laws, which, to their prejudiced minds and licentious views, seemed to wear an aspect of rigor. Their chiefs panted for the restoration of that arbitrary power which their ancestors had enjoyed before the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and for the recovery of those spacious districts which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the proprietors, and planted with British emigrants.

Though the administration both of Charles and his father, with respect to the catholics, had been much more lenient than that of Elizabeth, and made near approaches to a toleration of this sect, discontent still rankled in their hearts. As they wished the laws against them to lie dormant, they construed every enforcement of them into an act of tyranny; and every forbearance, instead of exciting their acknowledgments, appeared only as an act of ordinary justice. We are in-

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formed, indeed, that they suffered some oppressions from the government, particularly from the rigorous prosecution of an inquiry into defective titles; but the exercise of occasional severities, in the midst of general lenity, cannot be deemed a satisfactory excuse for those enormous cruelties which have entailed indelible infamy on the Irish catholics of that period.

Encouraged by the difficulties in which the king was involved by the turbulence of the Scots, and the systematic opposition of a formidable party among the English, the Hibernian papists considered the present conjuncture as favorable to their ambitious hopes and their vindictive schemes. They reflected, that, if they should not embrace this opportunity of revolting, the ultimate success of the English parliament over the royal authority would occasion a very strict execution of the laws against them, if not the extirpation of their religion, from the extreme hatred which the major part of that assembly bore to their principles and characters; and as the exertions of the parliament of Ireland had, since the death of the earl of Strafford, reduced the prerogative in that kingdom within narrow limits, they flattered themselves with the prospect of a less effectual opposition from the executive power to their traitorous attempts.

The chief projectors of the Irish rebellion were Roger More, Conor lord Mac-Guire, and Sir Phelim O'Neile; men who derived their descent from very considerable families of the original natives, but whose fortunes were greatly reduced. A son of that earl of Tyrone who had given such disturbance to the government of Elizabeth, promoted the views of the conspirators, and solicited aid of cardinal Richelieu, who promised a supply of ammunition, arms, and money. This hereditary rebel, who was then in the

Spanish service, would have personally embarked in the revolt, had not he been prevented by death⁹.

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Notwithstanding the caution and secrecy of the mal-contents, some intimation of their intrigues reached the ears of the king, who ordered the lords justices of Ireland (Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase) to exert the greatest vigilance for securing the public tranquillity. But these governors paid no attention to the royal advice, and remained in a state of supine negligence till the day which preceded the eruption of the rebellion. They were then roused from their lethargy by the alarming intelligence of the conspiracy, communicated by a protestant to whom it had been confidentially imparted by Mac-Mahon, one of the principal agents. Understanding that the reduction of the castle of Dublin was one of the enterprises which were intended for the following day, they gave proper instructions for the security of that fortress, and the defence of the city. Lord Mac-Guire and Mac-Mahon were taken the next morning, with about thirty of their accomplices. To put the provincial protestants on their guard, a proclamation was now issued by the governors, intimating the danger to which "the king's faithful subjects were exposed from "a most disloyal and detestable conspiracy," and recommending the adoption of immediate precautions for the general safety of the realm¹⁰.

The insurrection commenced in the province of Ulster; and the first exploit of Sir Phelim O'Neile was attended with flagrant treachery. Having apprised the baron of Charlemont that he would pay him

Oct. 23.

9. Lord Mac-Guire's Narrative, in Nelson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 543.

10. Sir John Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion, edit. 1679, p. 33

—42.—Hibernia Anglicana, vol. ii.

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a friendly visit at the castle of that town, he was liberally entertained by the unsuspecting peer; and his followers, flocking to the scene of hospitality, took an opportunity of attacking the unarmed garrison, while their chief seized his defenceless host, whom he afterwards murdered. Most of the soldiers were either slain or taken; and O'Neile gained possession of the place. The catholics hastening to his standard, he met with rapid success in his other attempts; and, in less than a fortnight, the greater part of Ulster was in the hands of the insurgents¹¹. They at first contented themselves with plunder; but their rapacity was soon followed by sanguinary proofs of the inhumanity of their dispositions, and of their rancorous animosity against the protestants. The barbarities of Goths and of Huns, of ferocious pagans, and blood-thirsty conquerors, were now renewed by those who pretended to have been humanised by religion, and to whom the arts of civilisation had been taught, against individuals with whom they had long lived on social and harmonious terms. The horrors of diabolical cruelty were blackened by infamous treachery; and the ties of consanguinity and alliance served only to stimulate the brutal rage of malignant assassins. The varieties of torture were inflicted with wanton exultations, the mere dissolution of existence being deemed, by the most inhuman members of the rebellious confederacy, an act of insufficient vengeance. Without wounding the sensibility of the reader with a detail of the atrocious proceedings of these vindictive bigots against the wretched victims who fell into their hands, of both sexes and all ages, we shall only observe, in a summary way, that, though a great number suffered a speedy

11. Temple's Hist. p. 66.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.

death,

death, by being stabbed to the heart, drowned, or hanged, a multitude of others were treated with all the severities of more deliberate revenge¹².

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Roger More, though the primary author of the rebellion, was shocked at the horrid extremities to which O'Neile and his followers had proceeded, and endeavoured, but with little effect, to reclaim them from the practice of such detestable outrages. He afterwards repented of his concern in this cause, and refused to act against the government.

While the insurgents were ravaging Ulster with fire and sword, the parliament of Ireland met; and the catholics expected a confirmation of some concessions which had been promised by the king in the important point of defective titles. But the lords justices, who were devoted to the popular party in England, prorogued the assembly after a session of only two days, as if they had wished, by disappointing the eager hopes of the papists who were yet quiet, to drive them into a conjunction with the rebels, that more numerous confiscations might accrue in the sequel. This conduct gave rise to a suspicion, that the promised favors would now, on pretence of the rebellion, be withdrawn; and such an idea prompted many wavering catholics to relinquish all pacific views, and join the standard of their brethren; a resolution to which they were also encouraged by fresh intelligence of the rigor with which the English parliament persecuted the religion of Rome. The Irish papists of English descent had not yet testified any desire of engaging in the insurrection; but their attachment to their religion, and their resentment of some acts which they deemed oppressive, induced

12. Appendix to Clarendon's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.—Temple's Hist.—Rushworth.—Carte's Life of the first duke of Ormond.

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many of them to concur in the revolt before the expiration of the year¹³.

- To increase the number of their followers, the rebel chiefs pretended that they had taken arms by the king's authority, for the support of his prerogative against the machinations of faction. O'Neile, having found a patent at the castle of Charlemont, ordered the seal to be taken from it, and affixed to a commission which he had fabricated¹⁴. This imposture deluded many Romanists into arms; and, at the same time, furnished the protestant enemies of Charles with a pretence for a very illiberal aspersions, as if he had been the instigator of the rebellion.

This charge against the king is so ill supported, that candor and common sense will readily exculpate him from it. Is it reasonable to imagine, that, at a time when he was on discordant terms with his English subjects, and had imperfectly quieted the commotions of Scotland, he would have encouraged a measure which was calculated to increase his difficulties, and involve him in additional misfortunes? It does not appear that he had yet formed any intentions of making war on his enemies in England; and it is unjust to suppose, that, on the uncertain prospect of those desperate extremities into which the violent proceedings of the parliament might lead him, he would urge the catholics of Ireland to rise in arms against the protestants of that kingdom, among whom he had many valuable friends. A prince of less moderation than Charles possessed, would have been scrupulous of kindling a war against subjects who had given him more severe provocations than this monarch had received; and the plan of exciting hostilities in one

13. Carte's Ormond, book iii.

14. Clarendon's Irish Rebellion.—Nelson.

realm, that he might employ, in another, against a more guilty party, that army which he hoped would prevail in the former, is at once so preposterous and so criminal, that no impartial person, we think, will be inclined to disbelieve the solemn asseverations which he made of his innocence in this respect.

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As soon as Charles had received the unwelcome information of Hibernian commotions, he wrote from Edinburgh to the English parliament, and recommended to that assembly the immediate consideration of the most effectual means of suppressing the revolt. The two houses affected to understand his expressions in the most extensive sense, and immediately assumed the sole direction of the war. They established a joint committee for the adjustment of this important business; and various resolutions were quickly adopted for the transportation of troops and military stores to Ireland. The Scottish parliament, being requested by the king to contribute some assistance on this occasion, promised a hearty concurrence, provided the legislature of England should consider the co-operation of the two realms as a necessary measure. As this proviso tended to delay, the king had recourse to those means which were calculated for the more expeditious relief of the Irish protestants. He procured, by the exertions of some loyal officers, the enlistment of 1500 Scots for that service, and sent them over to Ulster to join the forces which had there been raised by the friends of the government. He then returned to his southern realm, and was met, on his approach to the metropolis, by a cavalcade of the principal citizens, who conducted him to Guild-hall, where he was sumptuously entertained. From the loud and general acclamations with which he was saluted by the multitude, and the ostentatious parade of the superior inhabitants,

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bitants, his friends were inclined to think that the Londoners were not disaffected to his person or his government; but the fallacy of such a conclusion soon appeared¹⁵.

Sensible of the advantages which might be derived, by artful management, from the Irish rebellion, the English demagogues resolved to conduct their measures for it's suppression in that deliberate way which they considered as most conducive to the success of their ambitious schemes. By assuming the executive power with regard to the affairs of Ireland, they opened the way to a great augmentation of their power; and, by raising on this foundation a superstructure of censure and rumor, they succeeded in their views of blackening the characters of the king and his counsellors, and propagating the alarms of public danger, to be apprehended from the prevalence of sinister influence.

A remonstrance had been for some time in agitation in the lower house, by which the party wished to establish, in the minds of the people, a permanent impression tending to the king's disadvantage, and to the credit of those who had checked him in his arbitrary career. It was now completed, and, after a spirited debate, was voted by so small a majority¹⁶, notwithstanding the strongest efforts for the promotion of it, that the victory was not very honorable; for, as so considerable a number voted against it, in spite of the terrors of a domineering faction (which had already suspended some members, and expelled others, for an honest opposition to the views of the popular leaders), we may reasonably presume, that, if these apprehensions

15. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.—Nelson, vol. ii.

16. Of 11; for the numbers were, 159 for it, and 148 against it. *Parl. Hist.* vol. x.

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had been removed, there would have been a great preponderance of the enemies to the remonstrance. It was justly opposed by unprejudiced members, not only as highly unseasonable, when the grievances of which it complained had ceased, but as a very acrimonious and virulent production. It was accompanied with a petition, in which, after severe reflexions on the king's evil counsellors, to whose machinations the Scottish disturbances, the distractions of England, and the Irish rebellion and massacre, were ascribed by the petitioners, he was requested to concur with them in the removal of every remaining source of oppression, and to employ, in the administration of the realm, such persons only as should be deemed worthy of the confidence of parliament.

The remonstrance enumerated, without a strict regard to truth, every imprudent or unfortunate act of policy and war which had taken place since the accession of Charles; every real or pretended encroachment on the rights of the people; and, indeed, every circumstance, frivolous or important, which had at any time produced a casual murmur from the most discontented spirits. The root of this mischief was said to be "a malignant design of subverting the fundamental laws and principles of government;" and Jesuitical emissaries, corrupt prelates, and profligate courtiers, were represented as the authors of those disorders which had "overwhelmed and extinguished the liberty, peace, and prosperity of this kingdom." The patriotic services of the present parliament, in removing a multiplicity of abuses, were detailed with an air of self-complacency; but apprehensions were expressed lest "the malignant party" should obstruct the completion of the great plan of reform. It was insinuated, that the same treacherous and sanguinary schemes

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which had produced the rebellion in Ireland, would have first occasioned the ruin of the protestant churches of England and Scotland, and the subversion of the constitution of those kingdoms, had not an opportune discovery ensued from the vigilance of the true friends of their country. That these flagitious projects might never take effect, it was necessary (said the remonstrants) that the laws should be strictly enforced against the catholics; that all persons who were inclined to favor that sect, or who were forward in defending such great delinquents as were obnoxious to the parliament, or who spoke contemptuously of the proceedings of the legislature, were unfriendly to the liberties of the people, or disposed to the practice of corruption, should be excluded from all public trust; that a firm confederacy should be adjusted between the realms of England and Scotland, and that the reformed churches of the continent should be invited to join in a league which aimed at the overthrow of the criminal designs of the abettors of popery and tyranny¹⁷.

From the extraordinary eagerness which the authors of this remonstrance testified for its success, it may be concluded, that they trusted to it for the accomplishment of those schemes which they meditated for the further diminution of the prerogative. They intended it as a solemn appeal to the people, who, they hoped, would retain a strong and durable remembrance of the numerous oppressions stated in the memorial, as well as a warm sense of gratitude to those patriots who had procured the redress of such flagrant grievances. They were of opinion, that the suspicions which they had expressed of the views of the court would perpetuate such a jealousy in the minds of the public, as would procure a general concurrence in

17. Na'ton, vol. ii.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.

their ulterior projects, and conduce to the establishment of that system of parliamentary power and royal impotence, which formed the predominant wish of the popular chiefs¹⁸.

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The king gave a moderate but vague answer to the petition, and endeavoured to obviate the effects of the remonstrance by a declaration addressed to the people. In this defence, he made strong protestations of the goodness of his intentions, and of his sincere wishes for the universal prosperity of the nation; and expressed his conviction, that, even for the last sixteen years, during which, it was affirmed, such a multiplicity of grievances had prevailed, his subjects had "enjoyed" "a great measure of happiness, both in peace and" "plenty, not only comparatively in respect of their" "neighbours, but even of those times which were" "justly accounted fortunate". With regard to the different abuses of which such acrimonious complaints had been made, he declared, that, if the laws which had been lately propounded for the public benefit had never been brought forward, he would voluntarily have remedied every real grievance. He represented the fears and jealousies which many yet entertained in point of religion and liberty, as visionary and absurd; but intimated, at the same time, that such additional securities as might seem expedient would meet with his ready assent. He cautioned the people against the indulgence of a spirit of discontent; and hoped that

18. We are informed by an eminent cotemporary writer, that Oliver Cromwell thus expressed himself to lord Falkland, after the house had divided on this famous remonstrance. "If it had been rejected, I would have sold all my property the next morning, and never more have seen England; and many other honest men, to my knowledge, had formed the same resolution."—"So near (says the historian, with a mixture of pathos and asperity) was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance." *Clarendon's Hist.* book iv.

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they would testify their gratitude for his concessions by a loyal regard for the preservation of his legal rights, and by a cheerful submission to his sway. He reprobated the licentiousness of those who bitterly reviled his government in sermons and pamphlets, and propagated sedition with indefatigable malignity. "This busy, virulent demeanor (he said) was a fit prologue to nothing but confusion;" and, if not seasonably punished and prevented, would be attended with the most pernicious effects. He promised to employ none but persons of merit and integrity, and such as would studiously promote the honor and happiness of the community. He conjured his subjects, by all the bonds of love, duty, and obedience, to co-operate with him for the recovery of the tranquillity of Ireland, and the preservation of the peace of England; and to lay aside all doubts, jealousies, and apprehensions, which might interrupt their attachment to him, and diminish their affection for each other. In such case, he trusted, he might become a "great and glorious king, over a free and happy people"¹⁹.

While the king and the commons thus appealed to the public, the latter proceeded with vigor in their schemes for the extension of parliamentary authority. They had prepared a bill for impressing soldiers to serve against the Irish rebels; and, in the preamble, it was declared illegal for the king to exercise that power at any time, unless the realm should be invaded by a foreign army. Before this bill was presented to him, Charles, in a speech to both houses, proposed, that, as disputes had arisen concerning the bounds of his prerogative in this respect, the bill should pass with a reservation of the rights both of the sovereign and the

¹⁹ Nalson, vol. ii. p. 744—750.

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people, which might be discussed and adjusted at a more convenient season. This interference was warmly resented both by the lords and the commons. They concurred in declaring it to be a violation of privilege, and in voting a remonstrance to the king, who answered it by disclaiming all intentions of encroaching on their rights, and by rejecting an illiberal demand which they had made for the mention of his advisers. After a delay of several months, the bill was enacted into a law, without the omission of that preamble to which the king had objected ²⁰.

To subdue the opposition of the courtiers in both houses to the schemes of popular reform, the democratic leaders had recourse to that practice which they had found of such service during the prosecution of the earl of Strafford. They encouraged the rabble to insult and intimidate the friends of the government, that they might either be deterred from the execution of their parliamentary functions, or, if they should attend, might be induced to concur in the measures of the king's opponents. Charles, in compliance with an ancient law, ordered a body of men, armed with halberds, to clear the avenues of riotous intruders; but the commons quickly discharged this guard. They had before commanded a guard to attend them, on pretence of imminent danger from the machinations of the papists; but the king had dismissed it; and he declined the grant of their request for a guard commanded by the earl of Essex. Both houses afterwards joined in a petition for such a guard as they should approve; and, when he ordered 200 of the London militia to attend them under the earl of Lindsey, they refused to receive this detachment, and, by their own authority,

²⁰. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.

appointed

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appointed a guard under the conduct of an adherent of the faction²¹.

In the tumults kindled at Westminster by the agents of this party, the prelates were harassed with the greatest share of contumely and invective; and their persons were exposed to no small danger from the furious hatred of the populace. The bishop of Lincoln, who had lately been recompensed for his sufferings by a promotion to the see of York, was so irritated at the insolence of the vulgar, by whom he had been violently assaulted, that he sent for all the bishops who were then in the metropolis, and prevailed on them to join with him in a protest, declaring all laws and resolutions to be null, which had been, or should be, voted by the upper house, while they were prevented by the riots from attending their legislative duty. This protest being presented to the peers, they communicated it to the commons, who, affecting to consider the conduct of the bishops as presumptuous and illegal, immediately impeached them of high treason. A new bill for depriving prelates of their votes in parliament, was depending in the house of lords; and, as they apprehended that an advantage would be taken of their involuntary absence to pass a law so prejudicial to their order, they were the more inclined to enter their protest at this time. The commons, who eagerly wished to prevent them from voting against that bill, were the more incensed at the boldness of their protestation, and yet pleased at the opportunity which it afforded them of securing, by imprisonment, the absence of the twelve protesters²², and of promoting, by invidi-

bus

21. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.—Parl. Hist. vol. x.

22. Williams archbishop of York, Morton bishop of Durham, Wright of Lichfield and Coventry, Hall of Norwich, Owen of St. Asaph,

ous suggestions, the public odium against the episcopal fraternity. Though some steps were taken for a regular trial of these ecclesiastics, that measure was not prosecuted; and they were released from confinement on the enactment of the bill for the abolition of their parliamentary suffrages, to which the king, with great reluctance, at length gave his assent²³.

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Before the ferment produced by the unseasonable protest of the bishops had subsided, an imprudent act of the king gave great advantage to his enemies, and irreparably widened the breach between him and the parliament. Exasperated at the pertinacity of the popular leaders in their attempts for the ruin of his authority (at which a new blow was aimed by a bill for wresting from him that military power which had always been annexed to the crown); disgusted at the ill return which they made for his concessions, and at their indefatigable endeavours to alienate the minds of his people from him, by holding him up to the world under the execrable character of an incorrigible tyrant; he listened to the remonstrances of his spirited queen, who urged him to make a bold effort for repressing the career of faction, by the chastisement of the insolent demagogues. Lord Digby, who had acquired a considerable influence over the king, gave him similar advice; and, thus instigated, he suffered his judgment to give way to the precipitancy of passion, and ordered his attorney-general (Sir Edward Herbert) to accuse one peer and five commoners of high treason. These objects of the royal indignation were, Edward Montague, baron of Kimbolton, John Hampden, John

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Asaph, Skinner of Oxford, Piers of Bath and Wells, Coke of Hereford, Wren of Ely, Goodman of Gloucester, Warner of Peterborough, and Owen of Llandaff.

23. Clarendon, book iv.—Rushworth,

part iii. vol i.

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1642.Pym, Denzil Holles, Sir Arthur Haselrig, and William Strode ²⁴.

Lord Kimbolton was a man of some parts, which were embellished by politeness and humanity. His affinity to the earl of Warwick, the greatest patron of the puritan party, introduced him to a connexion with persons whose zeal for liberty inspired him with a congenial flame; and he soon acquired the unbounded confidence of the adversaries of the court, and an extraordinary degree of popular favor. Great was his influence in the upper house, where, in conjunction with his father-in-law Warwick, lord Say and Sele, lord Broke, the earl of Essex, and the young earl of Bedford, he strenuously promoted the schemes of opposition.—Hampden has been already mentioned under the honorable character of an assertor of the public rights in the affair of ship-money. He was generally considered as the most able man of his party. He excelled in the management of a debate; and delivered his sentiments with such art, insinuation, and judgment, that, under the appearance of an humble desire of receiving instruction from others, he led them to the adoption of his own principles and inclinations. Hence his sway over the house was uncommonly great; and, to the reputation of an accomplished senator, he added the fame of a conscientious patriot. Whether he was justly entitled to the latter character, has been doubted by many; but there is reason to believe that he entered the lists of opposition from pure motives, though, from the visible alteration which ensued in his deportment after he had been branded by his sovereign as a traitor, we may perhaps be justified in concluding that his integrity was at length warped by the violence of

24. Clarendon, book iv.—Whitelocke.—Rushworth.

passion,

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passion, and that, when he opposed the pacific overtures of Charles, he was more influenced by the narrow views of personal animosity and revenge, than by an opinion of the improbability of obtaining such a peace as was calculated for the permanent benefit of the people.—Pym had more parliamentary experience, but less genius, than Hampden. He was a respectable orator, a powerful leader, and an intrepid and active adversary.—Holles was a man of talents, courage, and generosity; of great frankness of demeanor and warmth of temper; but the impetuosity with which he embarked in the cause of opposition did not carry him to the extremities of democracy.—Haselrig and Strode were men of less eminence and merit than those whom we have described, and were principally distinguished by their zealous attachment to the cause, and by their ready subserviency to the dictates of their leaders.

The articles of charge adduced against lord Kimbolton and his five associates, were of the following tenor. They were accused of having endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the realm, to deprive the king of his authority, and to place in subjects an arbitrary power over the lives, liberties, and estates of the people; of having aspersed the character of his majesty, with a view of alienating the affections of the public from him; of having attempted to seduce the king's late army to disobedience and treason; of having invited and encouraged a foreign power (the Scots) to invade England; of having endeavoured to subvert the rights and the very existence of parliaments, and to compel the present assembly to join with them in their traitorous designs; of having raised and countenanced tumults for the pro-

motion

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motion of their schemes, and levied war against the king ²⁵.

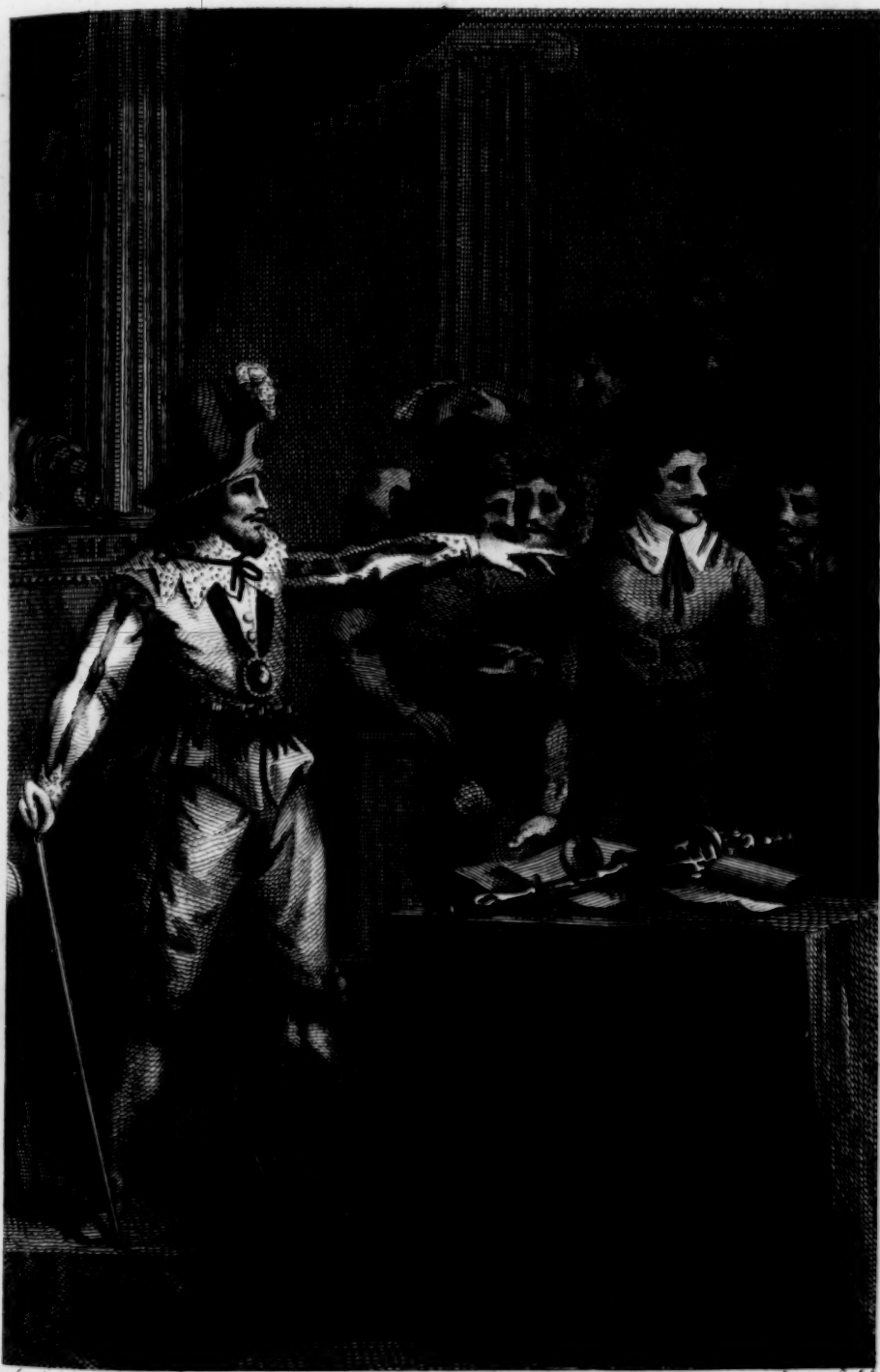
Orders having been given for sealing up the cabinets of the accused individuals, the two houses concurred in an injunction for their being immediately restored to their former state; and the royal messengers who had been employed on that occasion were taken into custody. The peers appointed a committee to examine precedents concerning the regularity of the accusation; and the commons, instead of delivering up the five members to the serjeant at arms, whom the king ordered to demand them, sent a deputation to Charles, to inform him that those members were ready to answer any legal charge made against them ²⁶.

Jan. 4.

The following day was distinguished by a remarkable scene. Attended by a guard of pensioners, and a train of courtiers, the king repaired to Westminster-hall, and presented himself before the door of the house of commons. Entering the house with his nephew the Palatine, he took possession of the speaker's chair, all the members standing up uncovered. With eager eyes he looked around for the five persons whom he had accused; but his search was vain; for, on previous intimation of his intention from a private channel, they had retired, by order of the house, before his arrival. He then expressed his regret for the occasion which had brought him thither. He had expected, he said, a ready obedience to his command for the apprehension of the five members; but, as he had not been gratified in that particular, he had thought proper to demand them in person. No monarch who had ever reigned in England had a greater desire of maintaining

25. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 473, 474.—Clarendon, vol. i.—Nelson, vol. ii.

26. Rushworth.—Nelson.



Ansel del. *Angus sculp.*
*Charles I. impeaching some Members of the House of Commons
 of High Treason.*

Publish'd as the Act directs Aug. 31 1791 by C. Stalker.



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the privileges of parliament than he had ; but, in cases of treason, no claim of privilege could justly be advanced. While those individuals were suffered to influence the house, he could not expect that it would ever be in the right way. As "the birds were flown," he required that they should be sent to him as soon as they re-appeared ; not that he intended to proceed against them in any other mode than that which was fair and legal. With respect to the concessions which he had made for the benefit of his people, he begged the house to consider that it was his firm resolution to adhere to them. Having thus spoken, Charles left the house, which his extraordinary interference had filled with confusion. As he passed, many of the members vociferated in his ears, "Privilege ! Privilege !" and an immediate adjournment ensued ²⁷.

Severe censures have been pronounced on the conduct of Charles in this affair ; and his advocates have found it difficult to excuse him. That it was an indiscrete and intemperate measure, has been universally allowed ; nor does it appear to have been strictly legal, though some writers have justified it on that ground. That a king should intrude abruptly into a legislative assembly, and demand the surrender of some obnoxious members, whom his own officers might more regularly have arrested on another occasion ; and that he should insult the commons by insinuating that they had been led into improper courses by the influence of those whom he now stigmatised as traitors, and in whose guilt the majority had deeply participated ; can scarcely be deemed consonant with parliamentary privilege.

Though, from the inflamed state of the minds both of the royalists and the democratic party, an in-

²⁷. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 477, 478.—Whitelocke, p. 50, 51.
—Clarendon, vol. i. p. 281, 282.

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testine war would, in all probability, have ensued without the intervention of this rash step of the king; it is certain that it did no small prejudice to his interests. Though it did not conclusively follow, from the opinion which he then manifested of the proceedings of the parliament, that he intended to revoke, on the first opportunity, those concessions which the importunate solicitations of his subjects had obtained from him; for it might be said that he only wished, by this check, to prevent a continuance of their encroachments; yet the generality of the people drew from his conduct the former inference, and were therefore inclined to support their favorite leaders in those ulterior projects which they regarded as necessary for their own security.

When the commons re-assembled on the succeeding day, they voted a declaration, complaining of the king's late behaviour, which they represented as a "high breach of the rights and privileges of parliament." Pretending that they were exposed to great danger from the vicinity of the court, they adjourned the house for some days, and appointed a committee to sit within the city, and deliberate on the means of vindicating their privileges and securing their persons²⁸.

Suspecting that the accused members were concealed in the city, Charles repaired to Guild-hall; and, the common-council being there assembled, he requested that the delinquents might not be protected, but might be delivered up to him for the purposes of judicial inquiry. Though it was well known where they were, no person wished to betray them; and the king returned to his palace without success. The populace insulted him as he passed through the city; and one individual threw into his coach a paper, on which

28. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.

these words were written: "To your tents, O Israel²⁹!"

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By the influence of the faction, a petition to the king was obtained from the corporation of London, stating the great dangers to which the city and the whole kingdom were exposed from the designs of evil counsellors, and requesting that the Irish protestants might be speedily relieved, the Tower put under the government of persons of honor and respectability, White-hall and Westminster cleared of doubtful and unknown guards, and the six accused individuals treated with due regard to the privileges of parliament. Charles, in answer to this petition, mentioned his exertions for the relief of his Hibernian realm; expressed his surprise at the complaint respecting the Tower, from the government of which he had lately removed an officer whom the citizens disapproved; justified his augmentation of his guard by the peril with which he was threatened from the tumultuous conflux of people to the *environs* of his palace; vindicated his proceedings with regard to the members, and promised a strict observance of law and justice in their case³⁰.

The committee of the commons, in the mean while, passed some additional votes concerning the grand topic which now engrossed the conversation, and agitated the feelings of the public. These resolutions imported, that it was a breach of privilege to arrest a member of parliament, by a warrant from the king only; that the coming of papists and soldiers (to the number of 500 armed men³¹) with his majesty to the house, argued

29. Rushworth.—Clarendon.

30. Rushworth.—Whitelocke.

31. Lord Clarendon affirms, that Charles, on that occasion, was attended only by his "usual guard, and some few gentlemen" who joined the cavalcade by the way; and the author of *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*

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argued a "traitorous design against the king and parliament;" that the publication of the late charge was a violation of privilege, a great scandal to the government, and a seditious act manifestly tending to the subversion of the peace of the realm; and that the rights of parliament, and the liberties of the people, could not be fully vindicated, unless the king would declare the names of the advisers of his late proceedings³².

The people were at this time in an extraordinary ferment. The intrigues of the king's enemies were prosecuted with redoubled activity; and all the arts of misrepresentation, calumny, and invective, were exercised with malicious assiduity. The recent indiscretion of Charles strongly aided the unfavorable impression which they endeavoured to fix in the minds of the multitude; and his advocates found it impracticable to stem the tide of reproach which overbore the royal reputation. The torrent of obloquy produced the clamors of sedition; and the rage of popular animosity portended danger to the family, the friends, and the person, of the sovereign. Successive rumors were propagated of the treacherous schemes of the catholics, of the king's approach to the city at the head of an army, of conspiracies against the lives of the chief friends of the people, and of various machinations of the most horrible nature. These fabrications kept up an incessant alarm, and inflamed the rabble to a height of

declares, that he was accompanied by "some gentlemen," and that his "followers were short of his ordinary guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict." But Whitelocke asserts, that, in addition to his regular guard of pensioners, he was "followed by about 200 of his courtiers, and soldiers of fortune, most of them armed with swords and pistols." According to May, his armed attendants, on that day, were about 300 in number.

32. Whitelocke, p. 51.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 483, 484.

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fury. Tumultuary crowds resorted to the vicinity of White-hall, and poured forth opprobrious expressions and licentious menaces against the king, the queen, and the court; and Charles, mortified and incensed, began to think of retiring from a scene of turbulence and peril. He flattered himself that a temporary secession from his capital would tend to allay the violence of the storm, and that the frenzy of the mob would be more ready to subside, when the principal object of it should cease, by his presence, to give it force and importance. Besides the general motive arising from a series of prior tumults, a particular consideration had some effect in disposing him to a retreat. He was informed that the day to which the two houses had adjourned would be distinguished by the return of the accused members to their seats, in spite of the proclamation which he had issued for their apprehension; that they would be attended by a numerous body of citizens, and guarded by the militia; and that the Thames would exhibit a squadron of small vessels, furnished with arms for the defence of their cause. He could not digest the idea of witnessing so unpleasant a triumph, and a solemnity so pregnant with insult and defiance; and this reflexion, reinforced by the suggestions of his queen, tended to accelerate his departure. Though some of his friends remonstrated against this step, which, they said, would have the appearance of pusillanimity, and would leave the metropolis at the absolute disposal of his enemies, he persisted in his resolution, and retired with his family to Hampton-court³³.

Jan. 10.

On the subsequent day, the committee of the commons, accompanied by lord Kimbolton and his five

33. Clarendon, book iv.—Whitelocke.—Nelson.

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friends, were conducted to Westminster with triumphal pomp. The thanks of the house were then given to the sheriffs, the militia, and the citizens in general, for their services to the members of the legislature; and the unusual mode of their attendance on this day was pronounced legal and justifiable. Two companies of the militia, under the command of Skippon, a soldier of fortune, were now ordered to attend daily for the defence of the parliament³⁴.

When the king coolly reflected on his proceedings with regard to the six demagogues, he was sensible of his own precipitancy, and endeavoured to soothe the inflamed minds of his opponents. Two days after his retreat, he sent a message to both houses, signifying his intention of waving that mode of process which he had first resolved to pursue towards them, and of adopting a course of indisputable legality, when the minds of men should be more composed. In the course of correspondence between him and the parliament, he consented to abandon all thoughts of prosecuting those members; and, as some of his subjects might perhaps be "involved in unknowing and unwilling errors," he expressed his readiness to grant as free and general a pardon as the two houses should deem expedient for the full contentment of his people. Not satisfied with these offers, the lords and commons insisted on his disclosure of the names of his advisers (to which, however, he would not submit); and the latter eagerly prosecuted the attorney-general for having brought forward the charge against the members. The peers were at first inclined to favor this officer; but the influence of the lower house at length induced them to imprison him in the Fleet, and disable him from serving in parlia-

34. Clarendon, book iv.—Nelson, vol. ii.

ment,

ment, or holding any other employment than that which he then possessed ³⁵.

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In most of the king's late speeches, answers, and messages, he had expressed his zeal for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, and had recommended the speedy transportation of considerable succours to that kingdom; but the parliament did not prosecute this business with the requisite diligence. Commissioners from Scotland had arrived for the purpose of adjusting with the English legislature the measures which should be taken for the relief of the Hibernian protestants, harassed as they were by the sanguinary enmity of the catholics. Few supplies were sent over before the spring of this year, by which time the rebellion had become more general. In their efforts for the extinction of it, the troops of the government committed many barbarities, in retaliation of the cruelties of the insurgents. This behaviour served only to exasperate the rebels to a renewal of their inhuman proceedings ³⁶; and frequent murders were thus perpetrated on both sides. In the engagements which took place, the protestant forces, except where they were greatly out-numbered by the catholics, were usually victorious. But, for want of adequate supplies

35. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.—Clarendon.

36. Very different accounts are given of the number of persons murdered by the rebels. Milton, with absurd exaggeration, represents the probable amount as exceeding 600,000. Some say, that 154,000 protestants were murdered or otherwise destroyed in the first three months; and others affirm, that above 200,000 were sacrificed in one month. Some speak of 300,000, either murdered or ruined (but chiefly the former) in the two first years. But these statements have been justly controverted; and perhaps we shall be nearer the truth, if we limit the number of those who fell victims to popish cruelty, in the first (which was the most destructive) year of the rebellion, to about 50,000.

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from Britain, the former were unable to put a speedy end to the rebellion ³⁷.

During these commotions in Ireland, the English parliament continued to be actuated by the same spirit which had already circumscribed the royal power; and, as Charles was not of a temper so tamely passive as to abandon every jewel of his crown to the rapacious hands of democracy, it was justly apprehended, from various symptoms, that the flames of civil war would quickly break out in this kingdom. All moderate men deprecated the eruption of a war of so odious a nature; but persons of that description were few, in comparison with those who were inspired with the zeal and the animosity of party.

37. Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii.—Carte's *Ormond*.

C H A P. XI.

The king erects his standard at Nottingham.—He engages the army of the parliament at Edge-hill.—A negotiation is commenced without effect.—The royalists gain the battles of Braddock and Stratton.—Hampden is mortally wounded in a skirmish.—A fierce engagement takes place at Lansdown.—The parliamentarians are routed at Roundway-down.—Prince Rupert takes Bristol.

WHETHER the civil war was commenced by the king or the parliament, has long been a matter of dispute. Aggression was solemnly disclaimed by both parties, at the time of the eruption of the war; and the advocates of each have, since that period, been equally inclined to fix, on the opposite side, the criminality of prior preparations for hostility. That the king, by invading the privileges of the people, gave them that provocation which gradually led to sanguinary measures, cannot be denied; and, though that ground of opposition was ostensibly removed by his subsequent concessions, his behaviour in the case of the accused members seemed to afford a plausible ground for suspecting his sincerity, and doubting the moderation of his future views. But such an idea did not justify his adversaries in planning, without regard to the constitution, that extreme abridgment of his power which they now meditated, and which, they might foresee, would so far rouse his indignation, as to give effect to the advice of his queen and his courtiers, who urged him to make a vigorous resistance to the progress of parliamentary usurpation, and represented it

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it as expedient and justifiable to have recourse to the extremities of war, if the two houses should persist in their unwarrantable pretensions. Charles resolved not to proceed to acts of violence, till it should appear that other modes of settlement were absolutely nugatory. The contest concerning the militia, the absolute direction of which the two houses pertinaciously claimed and assumed, at length determined the king to prepare for his defence against what he deemed a palpable aggression, and a manifest denunciation of war: but, as it was not the interest of the parliament to rush into a war, which, by appearing to be unprovoked by any renunciation of the royal concessions, and by producing extraordinary burthens and calamities, might greatly diminish the popularity of that assembly, it is probable that the intention of real hostility was first formed by the king, who had little prospect of preventing the ruin of his power except by the most vigorous operations. In this respect he may be considered as the aggressor; but it may be affirmed, on the other hand, that the repeated invasions of his prerogative by the two houses, exemplified in their attempts for the seizure of the navy, the forts, and the militia, and for the assumption of the whole power of government, gave, to the hostile preparations of Charles, an appearance of defensive measures. When they found that he was unwilling to submit to their unconstitutional demands, they resolved to guard themselves with those military terrors which might either intimidate him into compliance, or defend them from his attacks. To prevent himself from being enslaved by a legislative body, whose ordinances were null without his assent, and whose encroachments tended to the overthrow of the due balance of the constitution, he found himself reduced to the unpleasant necessity of taking

taking arms. By acquiescing in all the demands of his enemies, who were desirous of ruining his power without proceeding to sanguinary extremities, he might have avoided the decision of the sword; but it was not to be expected that the high spirit of royalty would submit to every indignity, or that the true friends of the constitution would tamely suffer it to be subverted by the tyranny of a democratic faction.

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To countenance the measures of the party, it was contrived that petitions should be presented from various counties, complaining of the prevalence of a malignant junto, demanding justice on all evil counsellors, urging the two houses to prosecute with zeal the reformation which they had commenced, and assuring them of public support. Besides the provincial petitions, some were presented from the apprentices, the porters, the poor, and other descriptions of people resident in the metropolis. Even the female sex partook of the general zeal, and petitioned the commons to provide for the defence of the protestant cause against the perils with which it was threatened from a popish faction, to purge both the court and kingdom of "that accursed and abominable idol of the mass," and annihilate the dangerous and oppressive power of the prelates. These petitions were received by the house with thanks; but those of an opposite nature were strongly discouraged¹.

The leaders of the faction continued their former practice of magnifying unimportant incidents in the behaviour of the king's adherents, into alarming conspiracies against the parliament. Lord Digby having been sent by the king to compliment those disbanded officers who, after having attended him at White-hall, and thence to Hampton-

1. Clarendon, book iv.—Parl. Hist. vol. x.

court,

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court, were now at Kingston, it was reported that he had assembled troops of horse, with an intention of levying war against the parliament. Orders were immediately issued by the two houses for the defence of the country against the insurrection of Digby; and all the sheriffs throughout the kingdom were directed to suppress unlawful assemblies, and secure the magazines of arms in their respective counties. As they were particularly desirous of gaining possession of Hull (which contained the arms of the soldiers who had been levied for the Scottish war), they directed that a body of the Yorkshire militia should be posted in that town. Another order which they issued at this time was for placing a guard, both by land and water, about the Tower, to prevent the conveyance of warlike stores either into or out of that fortress².

Jan. 20.

Perceiving that popular jealousy and discontent increased, so as to menace the realm with great convulsions, Charles sent a message to the two houses, urging them to the serious consideration of whatever might be deemed necessary for establishing both the royal authority, and the liberties of the people, on a firm basis, that, when they should have digested their resolutions into one body, he might have an opportunity of testifying, by his compliance with every reasonable demand, the weak foundation of their fears and jealousies, and the falsehood of such assertions as might charge him with the blame of not concurring in the removal of those "distractions which so apparently threatened the ruin of the kingdom." The peers voted thanks to the king for this communication; but the commons refused to join in the address, unless it should be accompanied with a request, that he would put the Tower and other principal forts, and the whole body

2. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.—Nelson, vol. ii.

of the militia, under the command of such persons as should be approved by the parliament. This addition was rejected by the lords, after a long debate ³.

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Desirous of subduing the opposition which the peers had occasionally made to the desires of the commons, Pym, in a conference on the state of the nation, addressed their lordships in a copious harangue; exhibiting the "variety of dangers to which the kingdom "was then subject, the manifold distempers which "were the causes of those dangers, and the multiplicity "of evil influences which were the causes of those "distempers." He appealed to their consciences, their honors, and their interests, and conjured them to unite their endeavours with those of the commons for the preservation of the realm. He hoped it might never be said with truth, that, in such an extremity of danger, the commons were enforced to save the kingdom alone, no part of the glory of such an enterprise being shared by those who, in respect of their ample possessions and elevated rank, were so deeply interested in the success of it ⁴. He had insinuated, on a former occasion, in an address to the lords, that they did not form a necessary branch of the legislature, the commons being the representatives of the whole kingdom; and that, if they should not cordially concur in the measures proposed by the latter for the general good, their authority might perhaps suffer a violent shock ⁵.

The rhetoric of Pym did not so far prevail over the lords as to induce them to join with the other house in requesting the delivery of the forts and militia into the hands of the creatures of the parliament, till the king had given an unsatisfactory answer to a petition from

3. Parl. Hist. vol. x. p. 232.
vol. i. p. 511.

4. Rushworth, part iii.

5. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 712.

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the commons alone on that head : they then concurred with the latter in a vote which declared the adviser of the answer to be an enemy of the state, and in a new petition for the gratification of the public wish in those important points. Charles replied in vague terms to this renewed demand ; and, as he soon after gave his assent to those bills by which he deprived himself of the parliamentary votes of the bishops, and of the privilege of impressing men for the public service, he hoped that these concessions would allay the discontent arising from his non-compliance in the disposal of the forts and the militia. But he was disappointed in his hope of the forbearance of the two houses ; for they now presented to him an ordinance for entrusting the militia to persons of their appointment. When they desired his assent to it, he requested that sufficient time might be allowed him for deliberating on an affair of such moment ; but they were so impatient of all delay, that they petitioned him, in offensive terms, for his immediate confirmation of their ordinance. In his answer, he consented to accept their recommendation on this occasion ; but refused to divest himself of that power which the constitution had placed in him for the defence of his people, and transfer it for an unlimited time into the hands of persons whom the ordinance rendered subject to the directions of the parliament. This reply produced, from the two houses, not only a variety of bold resolutions, but also a message to the king, declaring, that, if he should not give his speedy assent to their requisition, they would dispose of the militia by their own authority. When this declaration was communicated to Charles, he expressed his astonishment at the purport of it ; and while he signified his determination of adhering to his late answer, he pro-

tested

tested that he had "no thought but of peace and justice to his people ⁶."

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On the receipt of this answer, both houses voted, that the kingdom should be put into a posture of defence by the authority of parliament; and it was resolved that the ordinance should be speedily enforced. A new declaration was then prepared, in which they reprobated the proceedings of the court, insinuated a belief of an intention of making war on the parliament, and conjured the king to dismiss his unprincipled advisers, resume his residence in his capital, and co-operate with his legislative subjects for the promotion of the general welfare. When this declaration was presented to the king at Newmarket, he controverted it by a brief vindication of the integrity of his views; and he afterwards published a long reply to it. Finding that the two houses were determined on the execution of their late ordinance, he sent a message to them, intimating his desire that his privileges might not be violated, and that none of his people should presume to enforce any act or order which had been unfashioned by his assent. Not discouraged by this intimation, they declared that they would insist on their former votes with regard to the militia, and that it was a high breach of their privileges to question the validity, and oppose the execution, of what they had pronounced to be law ⁷.

Mar. 9.

Mar. 17.

These dissensions continued without intermission till an appeal was made to the sword; and to that savage mode of decision visible approaches were made. Having retired to York, the king was flattered with the testimonies of loyalty which he received from the

6. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.—Parl. Hist. vol. x.

7. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. chap. 4.

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northern gentry; and he hoped that their example would encourage the diffusion of the same spirit through the realm, so as to over-awe the factious party, and deter the leaders of the parliament from the prosecution of their bold schemes. But the two houses were so confident of the public support, that they persisted in their encroachments on royalty, and proceeded in their plan for the seizure of the naval and military force of the realm. Their views on the fleet were promoted by the earl of Northumberland, who had long enjoyed the office of high admiral of England, and whose merit and popularity rendered him a strong accession to the phalanx of opposition. Charles having appointed Sir John Pennington to act as commander of a squadron which had been equipped by the direction of the parliament, that assembly requested that he might be superseded by the earl of Warwick; and the king's refusal of this request was so disregarded, that an order was sent by the two houses to the earl of Northumberland, requiring him to depute Warwick to the command of the squadron⁸. The two earls being of the same party, the navy was now secured to the parliament. With regard to the militia, the two houses not only named the lieutenants for the different counties, but encroached on the chartered rights of those corporations which possessed the privilege of regulating their own military force. But, however impatient they were for the execution of their ordinance on this head, they thought proper to make another attempt for procuring the royal concurrence. Being desirous of repairing to Ireland for the suppression of the rebellion, the king offered them a bill for settling the militia for one year, by granting the command of it to the persons

8. Clarendon, book vi.—Parl. Hist. vol. x.

whom they had named in their ordinance, and who were to be subject to their sole directions in his absence; but they were so alarmed at his proposed expedition, which would not only deprive them of the management of the Hibernian war, but might also, in the event of his success, enable him to give law to his British kingdoms, that they remonstrated, in strong terms, against his journey, which he therefore consented to decline. They then prepared a bill for the disposal of the militia, finally resolving, in case of its rejection, to take the defence of the kingdom into their own hands⁹.

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Apprehensive that the king might be induced to attempt the seizure of the magazine of arms at Hull, the two houses resolved to remove that important supply to the capital. Charles, who had denied their request for that purpose, suddenly presented himself before the gates of Hull with a considerable train, and demanded admittance. Sir John Hotham, whom the parliament had appointed governor of the place, refused to comply with the king's demand, though he offered to enter with only twenty horse¹⁰. After a fruitless expostulation, Charles proclaimed Sir John a traitor; and, in a message to the two houses, expressed his hope that they would disavow such an act of disobedience, and inflict exemplary justice on the offender. They, as might have been expected from their former conduct, justified the behaviour of Hotham, and condemned that of the king. The latter repeated his demand of satisfaction; but the parliament denied that any real affront or injury had been offered to him¹¹.

Ap. 2

A bill was now presented to the king, committing the government of the militia, for two years, to persons

9. Clarendon, book v.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.

10. Whitelocke, p. 55.—Clarendon, book v.

11. Parl. Hist. vol. x.

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Ap. 28.

nominated by the parliament, and dependent on the sole injunctions of that assembly. To this bill he peremptorily refused his assent, "not more (he said) for his own honor and right, than for the liberty and safety of his people." The bill being thus rejected, the two houses proceeded to the promulgation of their former ordinance; and directions were given for the strict execution of it throughout the realm. To palliate this invasion of the constitution, they pretended that the danger which threatened the people from the machinations of the *malignant party* (for so the king's counsellors and adherents were styled) rendered it both prudent and justifiable to put the nation in a posture of defence; and that, in such an emergency, the fundamental laws of the realm required an universal obedience to their injunctions for that purpose. Charles opposed their declaration of the validity of the ordinance by a demonstration of its illegality; and afterwards, by proclamation, prohibited all his subjects from paying any regard to it, on pain of being prosecuted as violators of the laws, and disturbers of the public peace. This proclamation was declared void by the lords and commons; and the same menaces were denounced against all who should oppose the execution of their ordinance, or should act in the affair of the militia by any other authority ¹². They declared that the king's pleasure was signified through the medium of the parliament, without his voluntary assent, in a more obligatory manner than it could be by any of his personal acts or resolutions; thus making a distinction between the political and the personal character of the sovereign. In the latter capacity, they said, he might be seduced by evil counsel to a deviation from the law, and a perversion of the true relation between a prince and his people;

12. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. chap. iv.

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ple; but, in the former, he was an integral part of the constitution, and his authority was included in that of the parliament; consequently, if he should neglect the due execution of his trust, and the just protection of his subjects, the two houses, separating his constitutional character from his personal one, might declare his legal will to the nation, and exact obedience to it, however repugnant it might be to his immediate orders. By this artful distinction, they dazzled the senses of the multitude, and seduced them into hostilities against their natural monarch, under the pretence of defending the authority of the constitutional sovereign.

The conduct of the two houses, in levying a military force by their own authority, and inflaming the people against the king by continual invectives, as if he had been a monster of tyranny and barbarity, gave great disgust to all persons of moderation. Had the demagogues been solely actuated by principles of patriotism, they would have endeavoured to heal the breach between Charles and his parliament, and have been content with those securities which they had already obtained, without risking, by additional demands, the consequences of that indignation which could not but be aroused by such a series of encroachments as tended to the total ruin of royal authority. But they seemed to think, that, as they had carried their attacks on the throne to an extent which their sovereign could never forgive, their safety could only be ensured by such attempts as might incapacitate him from re-establishing his fallen fortunes. Hence arose their eagerness for securing the militia, the forts, and the navy; and thus did they reduce Charles to a despair of accommodation, and excite, among all who wished for the preservation of the due balance of the constitutional powers, strong

A. D. apprehensions of the sacrifice of regal sway to the all-
1642. grasping hands of democratic tyranny.

May 12. For the protection of his person in such tumultuous times, the king stated to the gentry of Yorkshire the necessity of an extraordinary guard; and he resolved, though not with their unanimous concurrence, to raise a troop of horse, and to require the regular attendance of a small body of the militia of that county. As a reason for this measure, he alleged the danger to which he was exposed from the neighbourhood of Sir John Hotham, and from the warlike preparations of those who had countenanced the treasonable proceedings of that officer. The two houses affected the greatest alarm at the augmentation of the royal guard; and they quickly concurred in three votes, of the following tenor; that the king, seduced by wicked counsel, intended to make war against the parliament; that such conduct was a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, was repugnant to his oath, and tended to the dissolution of the government; and that all who should assist him in such a war were traitors by the fundamental laws of the realm, and had been so adjudged by two statutes¹³. These votes were communicated to the king in form, with a petition for the discharge of his additional guard. He expressed his surprise at the causeless jealousies of his parliamentary subjects, and at their unreasonable objections to his legal precautions for the security of his person. They, he said, had raised a guard by their own authority, had attempted to seize the whole force of his kingdom, and had countenanced acts of treason against him: on what pretence, then, could they complain of those ne-

¹³. One in the eleventh year of Richard II. the other in the first year of Henry IV; both of which had been repealed before this period.

cessary steps which he had taken for his own safety? Their conduct, and their menaces, gave him a stronger reason for increasing than diminishing his guard. They had lately, he observed, commanded the sheriffs to suppress, by arms, all persons who should assemble by his authority, and put themselves in what they termed "a posture of war." Such orders, issued against those who, by his commands, met for the legal purposes of his security and preservation, amounted, he said, to a levying of war against him. He urged them to desist from the invasion of his rights, to renounce the unwarrantable practice of making laws without his assent, and to concur with him in his endeavours for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the support of this well-tempered monarchy¹⁴.

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The two houses, willing to try the temper of the king, desired his acceptance of nineteen propositions, calculated for his depression and their aggrandisement. He was required, by these conditions, to dismiss every officer of state, or privy counsellor, whom they disapproved, and to appoint none in future but whom they approved; to suffer such affairs as concerned the public, and were proper for the discussion of parliament, to be debated only in that assembly; to order every act of council to be attested by the majority, without whose subscription it should be deemed invalid; to commit the government and education of his children to such persons as were agreeable to both houses, and not to contract marriages for them without parliamentary consent; to enforce, on every occasion, the laws which had been enacted against the papists; to deprive the catholic peers of their votes; to consent to an alteration of the ecclesiastical government; to acquiesce,

June 3.

14. Clarendon, book v.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.

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for the present, in the ordinance respecting the militia; to restore those members of either house whom he had removed from their employments, or to give them satisfaction for such removal; to give up all delinquents to the justice of parliament; to limit his general pardon by such exceptions as that body should recommend; to put the fortresses under the command of individuals approved by the two houses; to pass a bill for restraining all peers who should be created at any future time, from the privilege of sitting or voting in parliament, unless the consent of that assembly should be obtained; and, in short, he was required to act, in every respect, as the dependent of the lords and commons ¹⁵.

It was justly remarked, in the answer which Charles sent to these propositions, that, if he should agree to them, he "should remain but the outside, the picture, the sign of a king." In the language of the ancient barons, he replied, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. In a long and animated declaration, he exposed the illegal measures of the two houses, accused the popular chiefs of the most mischievous designs, reprobated the unparalleled insolence of their demands, explained the principles of the constitution, asserted his firm intention of governing by law, and desired that such conduct as in him would be deemed the highest tyranny and breach of privilege, might not be extended towards him ¹⁶.

As Charles protested, in this declaration, that he would no more part with his legal rights in the militia than with his crown, lest, by giving up the former, he should enable his enemies to deprive him of the latter, it was evident that he was now fully determined to make a vigorous opposition to the career of parliamentary usurpation, and resist, by arms, the illegal

15. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 722—724.—Clarendon, book v.

16. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 725—735.

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muster of the militia. He was encouraged in this resolution by some of the nobility and commoners who had lately flocked to his court from the metropolis, and whose retreat was deemed, by the two houses, a proof of their hostile intentions. Of those who retired to York, the lord-keeper Littleton was one; and, as he had voted on the popular side in the affair of the militia, his secession was not expected by the party, who were also grieved at the loss of the great seal, which they wished to use for the sanction of their arbitrary purposes. As soon as his departure was known, orders were issued for his apprehension; but they were fruitless. A list being taken¹⁷ of the absentees from the upper house, it appeared that thirty-two¹⁸ of the lords had joined the king at York, and that forty-two continued to attend at Westminster; the rest of the body being included under the different heads of minors, recusants, infirm persons, and such as were either out of the kingdom, or lived in retirement. The lower house had long been deserted by many of the king's friends, after they had found it impracticable to stem the tide of opposition; and Charles was now attended by above fifty members; a number to which daily accessions were made.

The partisans of the parliament being actively employed in the execution of the ordinance for levying the militia, the king issued commissions of array to his adherents, that the force of the realm might not be wholly wrested out of his hands. These commissions

17. May 25. 18. Parl. Hist. vol. xi. p. 87.—One individual of this number, the earl of Salisbury, returned soon after to the capital, and adhered to the parliament during the whole course of the war. But his return was amply compensated by the subsequent retreat of other peers to York, so that those who continued at Westminster soon became the minority. *May's Hist.*

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were declared illegal by the two houses; and various attempts were made to oppose the execution of them. But the opposite parties employed in these operations endeavoured, for some time, to promote their respective purposes by menace and terror, rather than by actual conflicts ¹⁹.

July 12.

While two incensed parties were thus raising the national forces, each side alleging the necessity of defending itself against the other, the horrors of intestine war could not be very remote. Preparations, indeed, were now openly made for sanguinary extremities. After an ineffectual attempt to recover the navy, the king, having received a small supply of arms and ammunition from Holland, resolved to form the siege of Hull. The two houses, having voted that an army should be raised "for the safety of the king's person, the defence of the parliament, and the preservation of the true religion, the laws, liberties, and peace of the kingdom," conferred the command of it on the earl of Essex, and declared that they would live and die with their general. Of the money and troops levied for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, only a small part had been sent thither; and the parliament not only reserved the remainder for the support of the approaching war in England, but made indefatigable exertions for the augmentation of these supplies ²⁰.

Charles having again demanded the delivery of Hull, a petition was sent to him from both houses, with an offer of reconciliation, on condition that he would disband his forces, recall his commissions of array, return to them, and submit to their advice. The king, concluding that they only wished to disarm him and get

19. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.—Whitelocke.

20. Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.

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him into their power, promised to concur with them in the amicable adjustment of every difference, if they would first restore his forts, magazines, and navy, disavow their late ordinance, and dismiss their troops. These proposals being rejected, the warlike preparations were continued; and the king advanced towards Hull with an undisciplined band, consisting of about 2500 men, expecting that the governor, with whom his agents had tampered, would surrender it at the first shot; but being disappointed in this hope, and having lost some men in two sallies, he returned to York. His uneasiness at this repulse was allayed by the conduct of the troops that garrisoned Portsmouth, who, influenced by colonel Goring, their governor, had declared for the royal cause. Soon after he had received intelligence of this event, he published a long declaration, in which he vindicated his own measures, and condemned those of the parliament. He, at the same time, issued a proclamation, fixing a day for the erection of his standard at Nottingham, and commanding his subjects to repair thither for his defence. He arrived in that neighbourhood with a small force; and, in his presence and that of his son, the ensign of domestic war was conveyed with martial pomp from the castle, and erected in an adjacent field. "There appeared" (says the noble historian) no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York; and a general sadness covered the whole town." In the ensuing night, the standard was blown down by the wind; and superstitious persons were inclined to consider this accident as ominous to the cause of Charles. Three days after this ceremony, he testified a desire of preventing the bloody horrors of civil convulsions, by requesting that the two houses would authorise some commissioners

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ers to treat of an accommodation with an equal number of persons deputed by him. Nothing, he said, should be refused on his part, which might secure the true religion, law, and liberty, and perpetuate the enjoyment of the blessings of the constitution. If this proposal should be rejected, he was conscious of having "done" his duty so amply, that God would absolve him from "the guilt of any of that blood which might be spilled." His adversaries declared, that they would not think of treating with him, till he should have taken down his standard, and recalled the proclamations in which he had branded them with the appellation of traitors. He promised to grant their demands, if they would make similar compliances; but they contemptuously rejected that condition ²¹,

Some remarks may here be expected on the general state of the nation, and on the dispositions of the different parties, at the commencement of the civil war which we are now on the point of describing. In point of opulence and abundance, it is generally allowed that the community greatly flourished. Commerce, notwithstanding occasional restrictions, had considerably increased since the accession of the Scottish line. Various improvements had been made in the mechanic arts; and those of a more liberal nature were cultivated with success. Population, though inferior to what it has since been in this country, was far from being at a low ebb; and this was a circumstance of some importance, when contending factions were levying armies. The imposts to which the people had been subjected, were by no means exorbitant; and, even in the long intermission of parliaments, when Charles had raised money in irregular modes, the public clamors

21. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i.—Clarendon.—Whitelocke.

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had been less excited by the magnitude, than by the illegality, of the demands. With regard to military experience, the pacific reign of James, and the languor with which Charles had conducted his wars with Spain and France, had afforded few opportunities to the English of acquiring any extraordinary share of skill in that department. But, in intrepidity, they have never been deficient; and their courage, in the approaching contest, was sharpened by the infusion of religious as well as political animosity.

Among the advocates of the royal cause, we may reckon the greater part of the nobility and opulent gentry, who considered it as their interest to support the constitutional influence of monarchy, in opposition to republican encroachments and popular pretensions. The clergy of the established church were, in general, the friends of Charles, of whose attachment to their order they retained a grateful sense. Many individuals of that denomination were also influenced, at this crisis, by the absurd opinion of the divine right of monarchs, and of the impiety of resisting them on any occasion. The inhabitants of the more distant counties, where faction had made less progress, professed, for the most part, a desire of supporting their sovereign; and persons of moderate sentiments, who regarded his concessions as sufficient securities for his future adherence to the constitution, wished success to his arms. Some of his most valuable friends were those who had eagerly joined in the general demand for a redress of grievances, but who, when he had removed the chief grounds of complaint, refused to promote the ulterior aims of an aspiring party.

The friends of the parliament were the major part of the community. The middling and lower classes were disposed to consider the national liberties as hav-

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ing a better chance of preservation under the care of the two houses, and particularly of the commons, than under the wings of a monarch whose oppressions they had felt, and whose sincerity they were taught by their representatives to distrust. The traders and manufacturers, and most of the members of corporations, embraced the parliamentary cause, in return for the gratifications of restored privilege, and in the hope of deriving future benefits from the exertions of a patriotic assembly. While the catholics, whose principles inclined them to the support of royalty, adhered to a prince who had treated them with lenity, the protestant dissenters, whose aversion to the church of England rendered them unwilling to support a conscientious patron of that establishment, adhered to an assembly from which they expected a greater indulgence to their religious tenets. Those members of the two houses who concurred in voting for the war, were not unanimous in every other respect. Many of them wished only to enforce the king's submission to such further limitations of his prerogative as might disable him from revoking his concessions; others aimed at the total ruin of monarchy; and some sought only an opportunity of aggrandising themselves amidst the confusions of their country. Some were well affected to episcopacy; others wished for it's subversion, and for the establishment of the presbyterian system.

While the king remained at Nottingham, the earl of Essex, general of the army of his opponents, arrived at Northampton; and, as the forces which he there mustered were greatly superior to those of Charles, both in number and completeness of equipment, he might, in all probability, have made himself master of the royal person, if he had rapidly advanced on the enemy. But he was unwilling to act as the aggressor,

or

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or to offer violence to his sovereign, till he had received particular instructions from the parliament. Before these were sent to the earl, the king had marched into Shropshire with an augmented force; and, at Wellington, he took a survey of his army, which then amounted to between 7 and 8,000 men. Here his military orders were read; and, after a short exhortation to his soldiers, he made a solemn protestation, expressive of his unalterable intention of maintaining the established religion, of governing by the known laws of the land, of preserving the liberty and property of the subject with the same care with which he would defend his own rights, of supporting the just privileges and freedom of the two houses, and of observing inviolably, in case of the most triumphant success over his adversaries, the acts to which he had assented since the commencement of this parliament. But, if any incidental deviations from the strictness of law should occur amidst the distractions of intestine hostility, he hoped that such irregularities would be excused as the offspring of necessity, or imputed to the real authors of the war, not to him who had so studiously labored for the preservation of peace. If he should fail in any of his promises, he declared that he should "expect no aid or relief from any man, or protection from Heaven;" but, while he should adhere to his avowed resolutions, he confidently hoped for "the blessing of God, and the cheerful assistance of all good men." This protestation, as it tended to the overthrow of the calumnies disseminated by the opposite party, had a good effect in promoting the royal interests²².

After the king's speech and protestation had been printed and dispersed, the harangue with which the

22. Clarendon, book vi.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii.

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earl of Essex opened the campaign was published. Besides a series of instructions to his men, it contained a solemn declaration, importing that he would “under-
“take nothing but what should tend to the advance-
“ment of the true protestant religion, the securing of
“his majesty’s person, the maintenance of the just
“privileges of parliament, and the liberty and property
“of the subject ²³.”

Charles having fixed his head-quarters at Shrewsbury, whence he made excursions into Cheshire and North-Wales, to promote the enlistment of forces in his behalf, a partial engagement happened, which gave spirits to the royal party. Rupert and Maurice, the younger brothers of the prince Palatine, had lately repaired to England to assist their uncle against his malcontent subjects; and the former, being appointed general of the cavalry, was soon furnished with an opportunity of exerting that courage and activity by which he was so highly distinguished. Being ordered by the king to endeavour to prevent Worcester from falling under the power of the parliament, he hastened thither with a body of horse, and, near Powick, furiously engaged a detachment of cavalry, commanded by colonel Sandys. Both sides fought with spirit; but the royalists gained the advantage, and put their antagonists to a disorderly retreat. The colonel was mortally wounded, and several of his officers were slain on the spot; nor was the action bloodless on the part of the victors. On the approach of the earl of Essex with the grand army of the parliament, Rupert retired to Shrewsbury, finding it impracticable to defend Worcester, of which the earl now took possession ²⁴.

Sept. 23.

23. Parl. Hist. vol. xi. p. 436.

24. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 23, 24.—Clarendon, book vi.—Ludlow’s Memoirs, vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 61.

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Effex, having received his instructions (by which he was directed to "use his utmost endeavours, by battle or otherwise, to rescue his majesty's person out of the hands of those desperate men who were now about him"), waited for an opportunity of putting them in execution. Hearing that the king had begun his march to the southward, the earl resolved to attend his motions. When the former had reached the borders of Oxfordshire, and had given orders to a part of his army to attempt the reduction of Banbury, he received information of the proximity of the parliamentary forces. Being desirous of an engagement, he commanded his whole army to march to Edge-hill, near which, at the town of Keynton, his enemies were posted. Effex had no sooner learned the approach of the royalists, than he drew up his men in array of battle. The cavalry commenced the conflict. When the king's right wing, conducted by prince Rupert, advanced to attack the left wing of the foe, commanded by a Scot named Ramsay, Sir Faithful Fortescue, captain of a troop of horse, deserted with all his men to the king's side, and joined the prince in the charge. The impetuosity of the assault, co-operating with the terror arising from the desertion, put Ramsay's wing to a precipitate flight. At the same time, the king's left wing, led on by Wilmot, made a successful attack on the right wing of the enemy, and, elate with this advantage, commenced an inconsiderate pursuit, in which Sir John Byron, with the *corps de reserve*, eagerly joined. The defeat of the earl's two wings of horse struck such consternation into some of his bodies of infantry, that they retired from the field; but the rest of his army, animated by his example, bravely disputed the honor of the day. The earl of Lindsey, who, having acquired military experience on the continent, had

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had been elevated to the rank of general of the royal army, combated on foot with great gallantry; and it is probable that the king's central body would have ultimately prevailed, had not the reserve of the hostile cavalry, commanded by Sir William Balfour, co-operated so vigorously with the foot, that the royalists were at length thrown into confusion. In the heat of the engagement, Lindsey was wounded and made prisoner; and his son, lord Willoughby, also became a captive. The royal standard was taken; but it was recovered by captain Smith, who, assuming the parliamentary colors, took it out of the hands of the secretary of the earl of Essex. A part of the king's infantry still maintained the fight, when prince Rupert returned from the pursuit of the left wing. Balfour then drew back; and, as it was now the close of day (for the battle did not commence till the third hour of the afternoon), both armies thought proper to desist from the conflict. They remained near each other during the night; and each side claimed the victory, of which neither had reason to boast²⁵.

The calculations of the number of each army, and of the loss sustained on this occasion, greatly differ; but there are sufficient grounds for concluding, that the royalists were inferior in force, and that the slaughter was nearly equal. By the most probable accounts, the king had about 12,000 men with him, and the earl of Essex above 15,000; and, while some writers have stated the aggregate loss at 5 or 6,000 men, and others at less than 1000, we may more justly suppose that it amounted to about 3000. Besides the earl of Lindsey, who died of a wound in his thigh, the principal persons who fell on the king's side were the lord d'Au-

²⁵. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 33—38.—Clarendon, book vi.—May, book iii.—Ludlow, vol. i.

bigny, and Sir Edmund Verney. Of those who were slain on the other side, the most considerable were lord St. John and colonel Charles Essex.

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So long a period had elapsed from the last effusion of blood in England, in the horrors of civil war, that this battle struck a general consternation through the realm. It had been the opinion of many, that, notwithstanding the preparations of both parties for hostility, a mutual dread of actual collision would have produced such a repugnance to the real commencement of an unnatural war, as to dispose both the king and the parliament to a relaxation of their respective demands. But the strong resentments of the contending factions, and their reciprocal desire of triumph, soon dissipated the apprehensions of each, and stimulated them to a prosecution of their sanguinary career.

To the numerous declarations which had been published in this memorable year, the king now added another for the justification of his conduct, and the refutation of the calumnies thrown out against him by his opponents; and the parliament sent forth a long and acrimonious reply²⁶. That assembly, before the battle of Edge-hill, had voted a petition to the king, urging him to disband his forces, return to the metropolis, and attend to the suggestions of his legislative subjects; but, as he intimated that he would not receive it unless it should be presented by persons whom he had not accused of treason by name, this petition was never delivered. Charles, having reduced Banbury after the engagement, proceeded to Oxford, where he received contributions from the university; then marching to Reading, from which the parliamentary garrison had hastily retired at the approach of a party

26. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 39—49.

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of his horse, he struck such an alarm into the two houses, that they appointed a committee to treat of an accommodation ; but, when he objected to one of the delegates named by them, they were piqued at the exception, and deputed some of their members to inform their friends in the city, that, though they were perfectly willing to heal the distractions of the realm, his majesty had testified a strong reluctance to a treaty. In answer to a petition which they soon after presented, he declared that he would cheerfully receive their proposals ; but, before these were communicated to him, an action happened at Brentford, which produced a discontinuance of pacific offers. On the receipt of the king's answer, they had dispatched a letter to him, requesting that he would give orders for a cessation of hostilities ; but, when the messenger arrived at Brentford, he found the two parties engaged in conflict. The earl of Essex, who had been directed to bring his army to the vicinity of London, and had been complimented by his employers with a vote of thanks and a present of 5000 pounds for his services at Edge-hill, had sent detachments to Windsor, Kingston, Acton, and Brentford ; and Charles, considering these motions of the enemy as designed for taking advantage of him, listened to the counsel of prince Rupert, who encouraged him to dislodge the parliamentarians from the last station. After an obstinate resistance from the defendants, the royalists forced the works, rushed into the town, and gained complete possession of it. Of the vanquished party, a considerable number lost their lives, and many prisoners were taken, all of whom the king dismissed (except such as consented to enlist in his army), after they had sworn that they would never bear arms against him in future ; an oath which most
of

of them violated, at the instigation of the fanatical casuists of their party ²⁷.

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The king's conduct at Brentford was branded by his adversaries with the stigma of treachery; and though he vindicated himself from the aspersions, by affirming that his willingness to treat did not imply an immediate suspension of arms, and that it was unreasonable to expect him to be passive while the neighbouring posts were seized by the enemy, the imputation was, in some measure, prejudicial to his interests. To deter him from approaching the city, which, it was said, he intended to plunder, the fortifications were repaired, new works erected, and fresh troops levied; and the earl of Essex reviewed, on Turnham-green, a well-appointed army of about 24,000 men. Charles now found it expedient to retreat; and, having returned to Reading, where he superintended the improvement of the fortifications, he proceeded to Oxford for the purpose of winter residence ²⁸.

The contending parties employed the winter in preparations for another campaign. During that season, overtures of peace were renewed; but, the propositions of the parliament were too exorbitant, and too repugnant to the king's rights, to be accepted by him. After various conferences at Oxford between the parliamentary commissioners and Charles, with whom alone they were ordered to treat, the incompatibility of the claims of one party with those of the other rendered the treaty nugatory ²⁹.

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Besides the military exploits which we have recounted, others occurred in different parts of the realm,

27. Clarendon, book vi.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii.—Whitelocke, p. 62.

28. Clarendon, book vi.—May, book iii.—

Whitelocke.

29. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. chap. x.—

Whitelocke, p. 63—65.

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during the first campaign. Of these incidents, the chief were the following: the reduction of Portsmouth by Sir William Waller, one of the parliamentary generals; the capture of Marlborough, for the king, by lord Digby; the surrender of Winchester and Chichester to the forces of the parliament; the success of the earl of Newcastle, an active and powerful royalist, over lord Fairfax in Yorkshire; and the retreat of the marquis of Hertford, in the west, before the earl of Bedford, general of the horse for the two houses³⁰.

Before the grand armies opened the second campaign, a battle was fought on Braddock down (near
Jan. 19. Leskard) between a body of Cornish troops, commanded by Sir Ralph Hopton, and a superior force under Ruthven, governor of Plymouth for the parliament. The royalists, on this occasion, combated with such vigor and intrepidity, that they soon put the enemy to a total rout, and took above a thousand prisoners. Having pursued Ruthven to Saltash, Hopton easily dislodged him from that town; and drove him out of Cornwall, which was now wholly in the king's power³¹.

The marquis of Hertford, having levied some troops in Wales, brought them into Oxfordshire; but, finding his quarters straitened by the strong garrison of Cirencester, he requested the king to furnish him with assistance towards the reduction of that town. Prince Rupert, and his brother Maurice, were ordered by Charles to co-operate with the marquis; and the place
Feb. 2. was taken by storm. This advantage was counter-balanced by the ill success of lord Herbert, who had engaged to reduce Gloucester; but his forces, at a time when he was absent, were surprised by Sir William

30. Clarendon, book vi.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii.

31. Clarendon, book vi.—Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles.

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Waller, and many of them were slain, while the rest were made prisoners, except a few who escaped by flight. Waller then, with little difficulty, captured several towns in the shires of Monmouth and Hereford, and struck the royalists in those parts with dismay³².

In the spring of this year, the rage of war proved fatal to several persons of distinction on both sides, particularly to the earls of Denbigh and Northampton, and lord Broke. The last-mentioned peer, who was an active and able partisan of the parliament, had taken the city of Lichfield, and was employed in the siege of the Close, when he received a shot in the eye, which entered his brain. His death was greatly lamented by his party; and his soldiers, enraged at the loss of their leader, continued their operations with redoubled fury, so that the Close was soon surrendered, though that and the city were recovered in the following month by prince Rupert. The earl of Northampton had led some forces from Banbury to drive the parliamentarians out of Staffordshire; and he repulsed Sir John Gell, who had invested Stafford; but, Gell being reinforced, a battle ensued on Hopton-heath between him and the earl, in which the latter was slain, though his men had the advantage in other respects. He was a man of great courage, honor, and loyalty. The king was soon after deprived of the services of the gallant earl of Denbigh, who, acting as a volunteer under Rupert, was mortally wounded when the prince reduced Birmingham³³.

Mar. 2.

Mar. 19.

The first exploit of the earl of Essex in this campaign was the capture of Reading. Having invested that

April.

32. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii.—Clarendon, book. vi.

33. Clarendon, book vi. and vii.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii.—Whitelocke, p. 66.

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town with an army of near 20,000 men, he conducted the siege with spirit; and prevented the garrison from being relieved by the king, one of whose detachments he repulsed with great slaughter. The place being surrendered by colonel Fielding after a short siege, he was accused of treachery, tried by a court-martial, and condemned to death; but his sovereign indulged him with a pardon ³⁴.

During the siege of Reading, Sir Ralph Hopton had two skirmishes with the parliamentarians in the west. Major-general Chudleigh, having attacked him near Launceston, was repulsed with loss; but, in another action, Sir Ralph met with less success. These petty engagements were succeeded by a more important conflict. The earl of Stamford, entering Cornwall with a respectable army, detached a part of it to surprise the high sheriff and other royalists at Bodmin. Hop-
 May 16. ton took this opportunity of attacking the earl's camp near Stratton; and, though the enemy had a considerable superiority of number, he obtained, by the vigorous exertions of his followers, a complete victory. Of the earl's forces, 300 were slain, and 1700 were made prisoners. For this and other services, Sir Ralph was promoted by the king to the dignity of a peer ³⁵.

After the reduction of Reading, Essex remained there for some weeks in a state of inactivity. The fatigues of the siege, and a succession of inclement weather, had given rise to diseases, which carried off many of his soldiers, and left others in a very weak condition. The want of money was another obstruction to his progress; for it produced such general clamors among his men, that he was alarmed with the

34. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. — Clarendon, book vii. — May's Hist. book iii.

35. Clarendon, book vii. — Dugdale's Short View, chap. xviii. — Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii.

apprehensions of a dangerous mutiny. Having found means, however, by occasional supplies, to allay their discontent, he advanced to Thame, in Oxfordshire, more with a view of repressing the incursions of the enemy, than of employing his diminished and enfeebled army in offensive operations. While he continued in this neighbourhood, an engagement took place in Chalgrave field, which was distinguished by the fall of one of the leaders of his party. Prince Rupert, in consequence of information which he received from colonel Urry, who had deserted the service of the parliament, beat up some of the earl's quarters with great success. The alarm having reached the general, he sent out a detachment to engage the prince, and prepared to follow in person with a more numerous body. Rupert was retiring with his spoils, when he discerned the approach of the hostile cavalry. A brisk engagement ensued, in which the impetuosity of the prince prevailed. The parliamentarians were repulsed, and precipitately fled³⁶. The royalists pursued them till the earl appeared; and then the prince made a safe retreat to Oxford. Hampden was present in the action, and fought with distinguished courage; but, being wounded in the shoulder, rode out of the field, and died a few days afterwards, to the extraordinary regret of the democratic party, who admired his abilities, respected him for his public and private virtues, and applauded his ardent zeal in the defence of popular privileges; while the royalists, on the other hand, were pleased at the removal of one whom they considered as a formidable enemy, and whose conduct they imputed to the spirit of faction, and to an inordinate ambition, rather than to the pure suggestions of unbiaſſed patriotiſm.

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June 18.

36. Clarendon, book vii.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 274.

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Amidst these scenes of hostility, the lords and commons were employed in investigating the particulars of a project which had been formed by Edmund Waller, the poet, and two citizens of London, named Tomkins and Chaloner. A strong desire of peace, and a detestation of the oppressions that were exercised by the two houses where-ever their power extended, prompted these three individuals to devise the means of checking their arbitrary career, and disposing them, by a refusal of contributions, to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation with the king. That their plan extended further, is strongly asserted. It is said that they endeavoured to unite the friends of Charles in a conspiracy for seizing Pym and other leaders of opposition, securing the Tower and all the forts and magazines in London, and introducing the royal army for the destruction of the parliamentary party. From the great difficulty of executing such a scheme, in a city so devoted to the parliament, it is improbable that the plan of Waller and his associates reached to that extent; and we may conclude that the popular party, according to their usual practice, exaggerated the horrors of the conspiracy. The discovery of a commission, by which the king had authorised Sir Nicholas Crispe and other Londoners to levy forces for his service, and take every opportunity of harassing his enemies in the city and its environs, furnished a pretence for blending this confederacy with the design of Waller. Pym having gained some intelligence of the affair, and communicated it to both houses, Waller and his two friends, and others who were concerned in the scheme, were apprehended without delay. The detection of this plot produced an order for a general thanks-giving, and also a vow or covenant, expressing a detestation of the late wicked and treacherous design,

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design, justifying the war as defensive on the part of the two houses, and promising to oppose the king while he should continue in arms, and grant his protection to the papists and other malignants by whom he was misled. With regard to the conspirators, it was resolved that they should be tried by a court-martial. Tomkins and Chaloner were condemned to death, and were soon after hanged before their own doors. Waller, having soothed his prosecutors by a pathetic speech, and by a disclosure of whatever he knew, was suffered to escape with life; but he lost his seat in the house, was detained in prison for a twelvemonth, and compelled to pay a heavy fine³⁷.

The army of the earl of Essex being still harassed by disease, Sir William Waller was the principal actor against the king's adherents in this campaign. Being ordered to provide for the defence of the west, he recruited his force at Bristol and the neighbouring districts; and, being further strengthened by a select regiment of cavalry, commanded by Sir Arthur Haselrig, he prepared to stop the progress of the enemy. Hopton having been joined, after his victory at Stratton, by prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford, the united royalists nearly amounted to 7000 men. Marching to the vicinity of Bath, they were prompted, by the ardor of their courage, to attack Waller at Lansdown, notwithstanding the advantage of his situation, posted as his men were on a hill, the brow of which he had fortified with breast-works. Sir Bevil Grenville, with a gallant party, ascended the eminence, and, in spite of every difficulty, reached the brow, where he was slain with many of his officers. After an obstinate conflict in different parts of the hill, the parliamentarians were

July 5.

37. Clarendon, book vii.—Rushworth, part. iii. vol. ii. chap. xii.—Whitelocke, p. 66.

driven

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driven from the breast-works; but Waller, retiring behind a stone wall, kept up, for some time, a discharge of cannon, which his antagonists merely answered, being too fatigued to be inclined to the renewal of a closer engagement. In the night, Sir William retreated to Bath, where he propagated the report of his victory, which, however, was strongly claimed by the other side. Each party sustained a nearly equal loss. The death of Sir Bevil Grenville occasioned much lamentation, as he was distinguished both by the heroic and the milder virtues. In the ensuing morning, the explosion of some powder maimed and destroyed many of the royalists, and dangerously hurt the brave Hopton. As this warrior was the life of the king's party in the west, his temporary disability discouraged his companions, and elevated the hopes of Waller, who, trusting also to the scarcity of ammunition in the hostile army (which now bent its course towards Oxford, with a view of forming a junction with Charles), infested the rear with frequent skirmishes. When the royalists had reached the Devises, prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford retired, with the greater part of the cavalry, to Oxford; and Waller besieged the remainder of the army, in full confidence of obtaining a speedy surrender. Hearing of the distress of his adherents, the king sent a reinforcement commanded by lord Wilmot, with whom prince Maurice returned as a volunteer. Sir William, quitting his station before the Devises, drew up his forces on Roundway-down, and attacked the very inferior force of Wilmot, consisting only of about 1500 horse. Haselrig, with his body of horse (called, from the completeness of their armour, "the regiment of lobsters"), began the assault. He was so warmly received by the ill-armed cavalry of Wilmot, that he was compelled

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elled to retreat; then rallying, and renewing the charge, he was severely wounded, and his regiment, though deemed invincible by his party, suffered a total rout. The rest of Waller's horse were likewise defeated; and his infantry, being fiercely assaulted by Wilmot's cavalry, as well as by the men who had been besieged in the Devises, were put to flight after a short resistance. Above 600 of the vanquished were slain, and 900 were made prisoners; and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors.

On the same day which was distinguished by this remarkable action, Charles met his queen at Edge-hill, who brought him a reinforcement both of horse and foot. She had sailed from Holland, near the close of the winter, with a supply of military stores, and had landed in Yorkshire, where she had continued some months, animating the provincials to the support of the royal cause. During her residence at York, the earl of Newcastle had defeated lord Fairfax at Bramham-moor in that county; and, though the latter and his son Sir Thomas had occasionally gained some advantages, particularly at Wakefield, the superior influence and resources of the earl had secured the greater part of that extensive province in the king's interest. After the queen's advance to the southward, the earl engaged lord Fairfax at Adderton-heath; and, having totally routed that nobleman, he reduced Bradford, Leeds, and Halifax; then passing into the shire of Lincoln, he recovered Gainborough, near which town Oliver Cromwell, then a colonel in the service of the two houses, had lately put to flight a body of the earl's forces, commanded by Charles Cavendish (brother of the earl of Devonshire), who fell in the action ³⁸.

38. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii.—Dugdale's Short View.—Warwick's Memoirs.

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July 24.

The defeat of Waller, and the inactivity of the earl of Essex, encouraged the king to attempt the reduction of Bristol, the garrison of which had been greatly weakened by the late draughts. Prince Rupert, therefore, appeared with an army on the Gloucestershire side of that city, and Maurice with another on the Somersetshire side. The royalists, on the same day, found means to gain possession of all the vessels in King-road, some of which were richly laden with the property of many of the chief citizens, who, apprehensive of a siege, had shipped off their most valuable effects for London. A council of war being called, to determine whether the place should be attempted by gradual approach or by storm, prince Rupert, urged by the impetuosity of his temper, strongly recommended the latter mode, to which the principal officers of both armies at length agreed. The troops of prince Maurice assaulted the town, in three places, with great intrepidity; but they were repulsed with considerable loss. Rupert's army had better success, being enabled, by a vigorous assault, to gain the suburbs. But the most difficult part of the enterprise was yet unachieved; and the loss already sustained, amounting, at least, to 500 men, exclusive of many excellent officers, gave much discouragement to the royalists. The pusillanimity, however, of the governor (Nathaniel Fiennes, second son of lord Say and Sele), dissipated the dejection of the besiegers. Intimidated by the courage which they had evinced in the assault, he offered to capitulate; and the articles were quickly adjusted. It was agreed, that

July 26.

the governor, and all the officers of the garrison, should retire with full arms and baggage; that the common troopers should only take their horses and their swords; that the infantry should depart wholly unarmed; that they should not be harassed in their retreat till the ex-

piration of three days; that all their cannon, ammunition, and colors, should be left; that the prisoners in the town should be delivered up; and that the inhabitants should not be plundered or injured, whether they should think proper to continue in the place, or to depart from it. Fiennes was tried and condemned by a court-martial for his precipitate surrender of so important a town; but, as he had been a very useful assistant in the lower house to the popular chiefs, while his father ably supported their cause among the peers, his life was spared³⁹.

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39. Clarendon, book vii.—Rushworth.

C H A P. XII.

Charles engages the earl of Essex at Newbury.—A solemn covenant is embraced by all the mal-contents in the three kingdoms.—The king agrees to a truce with the Irish rebels.—The Scots enter England in arms, as auxiliaries to the parliament.—The royalists are defeated at Marston-moor.—Other battles are fought at Alresford, Cropredy-bridge, and Newbury.—A fruitless treaty is commenced at Uxbridge.—Archbishop Laud is beheaded.—The king loses the battle of Naseby;—after which his affairs rapidly decline.—He surrenders himself to the Scottish forces at Newark;—and, by them, he is sold to the English parliament.

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THE king's affairs were now, to all appearance, in so flourishing a posture, that his friends confidently expected his speedy re-establishment. The principal army of the parliament, by a continuation of disease, by the want of regular supplies, and by the inclination of the earl of Essex for peace, remained on the defensive, in a state of listless supineness, ill adapted for those vigorous operations which were requisite for checking the progress of the royal arms. The forces of Sir William Waller were broken and dispersed; lord Fairfax was unable to keep the field in the north, against the victorious earl of Newcastle; and the second city in the kingdom was reduced to obedience. In the metropolis, though the majority of the inhabitants still supported the cause of the parliament, the royal party began to gain ground. The assessments to which the citizens were subjected gave such disgust to many
even

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even of the partisans of opposition, that they wished for a speedy accommodation with Charles. Many of the peers as well as commons who had hitherto abetted the schemes of the demagogues, were now inclined to suspect the latter of aiming at the total ruin of the monarchy; and, being desirous of preventing so gross a violation of the constitution, they exerted their endeavours for procuring a reconciliation with the king. These circumstances render it probable, that, if Charles, amidst the consternation which his recent successes had produced among his enemies, had boldly marched to the gates of London, the divisions which prevailed would have so far weakened the efforts of the defenders, as to have facilitated the reduction of a city which was imperfectly fortified, and in which he had a considerable number of friends; or, without attempting to besiege it, his offer of reasonable terms of accommodation might have been accepted in such a conjuncture, and the national convulsions might have been quickly terminated. But, by the advice of Colepeper, chancellor of the exchequer, and of others who were of opinion that an attempt should first be made on Gloucester, he was induced to form the siege of that city, the conquest of which they represented not only as a work that might be easily achieved, but also of great importance, tending to the security of his adherents in Wales and in the west of England, and necessary for his full command of the Severn. By this resolution, he lost an opportunity which seemed highly favorable for the termination of the war.

The king's late successes was followed by a declaration, assuring his subjects of his invariable intention of adhering to every promise which he had made for the preservation of their liberties; warning them of the

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“malice and cunning of those state impostors, who, under pretence of reformation, would introduce whatever was monstrous and unnatural both in religion and policy ;” and urging them not to submit to that slavery which, they had reason to expect, would be entailed on them by persons who had already been guilty of “prodigious acts of oppression and tyranny.” This declaration had some effect on the minds of the people ; and it strengthened that inclination for peace which many members of both houses had lately testified. The peers now voted some propositions, as the foundation of a treaty ; and the commons, after very warm debates, agreed to take them into consideration. But, by the intrigues of the factious leaders, a great clamor was raised in the city against pacific measures ; and the corporation presented a petition to the lower house, praying for the continuance of the war. The subject being then resumed by the house, the propositions were rejected by the small majority of seven ¹.

Disgusted at the rejection of the overtures of peace, some of the peers, particularly the earls of Bedford, Holland, and Clare, quitted the parliamentary party ; and many of the commons followed their example. But the three earls, not being treated with the height of favor which they expected, returned to the parlia-

1. A petition for peace was presented to the commons, at this time, by many of the female inhabitants of London and Westminster ; and, as they crowded the avenues to the number of 5000, and assailed the members with clamorous importunities, the guards at length fired on them, and seven lives were lost. Some of them, in the style, but without the actual ferocity, of the modern French women (since the revolution of 1789), cried, “Give us those traitors who are against peace, that we may tear them to pieces.—Give us that dog Pym.” This great object of their resentment, who had so long influenced the parliamentary deliberations, died in December following. *Rushworth.*
—*Clarendon.*

ment

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ment after a short absence, during which, however, they took part in the field of battle against their late friends. The earl of Essex had been solicited to grant the protection of his army to the advocates of peace, and to concur with them in their endeavours for constraining the violent party to enter into their views: but he considered such conduct towards his employers as a breach of trust, and therefore refused his consent².

The two houses now applied themselves with great diligence to the task of raising men and money for the general prosecution of the war, and providing for the particular defence of the capital, round which an entrenchment was now completed by the persevering labor of a multitude of persons of all ranks. The king, in the mean time, was occupied in besieging Gloucester; and prince Maurice, at the head of another army, opposed the parliamentarians in the shires of Dorset and Devon. Colonel Massey, an officer of merit, was then governor of Gloucester; and it was his firm resolution not to imitate the dastardly conduct of Fiennes, but to defend the place as long as the ability of resistance should remain. He harassed the besiegers with repeated sallies, in which fewer persons were slain on his side than on their part; he repaired, with the utmost celerity, the breaches that were made in the walls; he ruined the works, and baffled the approaches, of the enemy. But, after the siege had continued above three weeks, the garrison, being reduced to great exigency, despaired of preserving the town without speedy relief. The two houses were as eager to send the desired succour as their besieged adherents could wish. To the volunteers who offered to recruit the army of the earl of Essex, diminished by sickness and desertion,

Clarendon, book vii.—Whitelocke, p. 67.

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Sept. 3.

many other men were added by the practice of impressing; and the general began his march towards Gloucester with above 8000 foot and 4000 horse; an army inferior to that of his adversaries. After several skirmishes in his way with the royal cavalry, he arrived in the neighbourhood of that city; and Charles, unwilling to engage an army which the garrison would assist during the conflict, immediately raised the siege.

The earl entered the town amidst the strongest demonstrations of joy; and, having supplied the immediate wants of the garrison, prepared for his return to London, which the king was desirous of preventing. At Cirencester, Essex routed two regiments of horse; but, in his march over Alborne chase, his rear sustained so impetuous an attack from prince Rupert, that great confusion ensued, which, however, did not prevent his men from rallying. A second attack renewed their disorder; but they were again enabled, by the assistance of other bodies of the army, to recover themselves³.

Sept. 20.

When the earl approached Newbury, he found that the royalists had gained possession of the place. He endeavoured to dislodge them from a hill near the town; and, in this attempt, after an obstinate struggle, he met with success. The battle soon became general; and great valor was displayed on both sides. The king's cavalry had, for the most part, the advantage; but the earl's infantry, particularly the Londoners, firmly maintained their ground against the repeated attacks both of the horse and foot⁴. The conflict continued from sun-rise till sun-set, when the two armies, exhausted with fatigue, receded in good order from

3. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. chap. xi.—Clarendon, book vii.—May, book iii.

4. Clarendon, book vii.

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each other. As the royalists were unable to prevent the earl's return to the capital, which was his chief aim, the honor of the day seems to have been more justly due to him than to Charles. The loss is variously reported; being stated by writers of one party as much greater on the king's side, and, by those of the other, as far inferior; but we have reason to think that 2000 men were slain in the aggregate. No persons of eminence fell on the side of the parliamentarians; but the king was deprived, by this battle, of the services of many officers of reputation, and of three noblemen whose merit did honor to his cause^s. These were, Lucius lord Falkland, secretary of state, and the earls of Caernarvon and Sunderland. The two last were persons of courage and integrity, and of elegant accomplishments; but Falkland has been particularly celebrated as one of the most virtuous and dignified characters of that or any other age. From a pure regard to liberty, he had opposed every illegal exercise of power in the crown, and had strenuously promoted a redress of grievances; but, satisfied with the concessions of Charles, he had supported his cause against the violent measures of the democratic party, and labored to effect such an accommodation as might preserve the dignity and constitutional power of the monarch, in concert with the legal rights of the people. His capacity was strong; he excelled in literature and science; he was distinguished by liberality, benevolence, sincerity, modesty, gratitude, and other virtues; his courage was indisputable, and his honor untainted. In his temper he was inclined to be splenetic; but this was a trifling derogation from those great and estimable qualities which rendered him an ornament of society.

^s. Id. *ibid.*—Whitelocke, p. 70.

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Charles now retired with his diminished army to Oxford, having lost, by his injudicious attempt upon Gloucester, an opportunity of closing the war by a speedy approach to London, where his enemies, at that time, were ill prepared for his reception. Sensible of their danger, they had taken advantage of the king's unreasonable delay, recruited their finances with great expedition, accommodated their dissensions, put the city in a good posture of defence, reinforced their army, and provided all the means of vigorous hostility; so that the advance of the royalists to the metropolis would now have been inexpedient and dangerous.

In the first year of the war, the parliament had made overtures to the Scots for their assistance; and, to allure them to acquiescence, had given hopes of sacrificing the episcopal establishment in England at the shrine of presbyterianism. The North-Britons, animated with this prospect of the extension of their favorite system, grateful for the favors which they had received from the southern parliament, and apprehensive that the king, in the event of his triumphing over his present foes, would take measures for the recovery of those prerogatives which had been wrested from him in Scotland, were, for the most part, inclined to afford the requested aid. After a fruitless offer of mediation from those Scots who had been appointed conservators of the peace lately concluded between the British kingdoms, whose interposition Charles knew would be directed to the advantage of his adversaries, the northern malcontents began to disclose their intentions of taking an active part in the convulsions with which England was now agitated. To sanction their schemes, they wished for the speedy meeting of a parliament in their kingdom; but, as the next assembly of that kind
had

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had been fixed, by a late statute, for the middle of the following year, unless the king should think proper to convoke it sooner, Charles rejected a request which they made to him for that purpose, as he was unwilling to increase their power of injuring him. Disappointed in this particular, they proposed that the estates of the realm should be called to a convention; and this motion was adopted in a meeting of the privy counsellors and the conservators of the peace. Charles at first resolved to prohibit this convention; but, on further consideration, he consented to the measure, on condition that the assembly should not pass any votes that might tend to the recall of the Scottish forces from Ireland, or to the enlistment of a new army. But this restriction was as little regarded as the declarations which he issued with a view of vindicating his character and actions in the eyes of the Scots, and of diverting them from all thoughts of assisting his English enemies. While the convention sat, commissioners arrived at Edinburgh, from the parliament of England, to adjust the terms of the proposed confederacy against the king. The chief manager in this business was Sir Henry Vane, junior, a man of extraordinary abilities. A committee selected from the convention, as well as from the general assembly of the kirk, had several conferences with the English deputies; and it was resolved by both parties, that a covenant should be framed for the union of all the friends of true religion and liberty in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Such an instrument was immediately prepared; and, when it had received the assent of the convention and the general assembly, orders were issued by the former, in the king's name, directing all the Scots, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to provide themselves with

- A. D. 1643. arms. The covenant being sent to England, the two houses, after some debate, consented to give it their sanction; and, when they had subscribed it, they commanded the whole nation to swear to the observance of it⁶. It was embraced by all the mal-contents in Britain; and many of the secret friends of the king and the church also agreed to it, that they might not subject themselves, by a refusal, to suspicion and to persecution. The same engagement was imposed in Ireland, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the marquis of Ormond and other royalists for preventing the reception of it. In the treaty which was now concluded between the English parliament and the Scottish convention, it was stipulated, that 21,000 armed Scots should march into England for the defence of the true religion and liberty against the "papists and prelatical faction;" that, towards the maintenance of this army, the sum of 30,000 pounds should be paid monthly by the former assembly; that, if this sum should not be paid at the time specified, an interest of 8 *per cent.* should be allowed for the delay; that, if further satisfaction should be deemed necessary for the services of the Scots, it should be granted at the end of the war; that 100,000 pounds should be paid in advance, for the equipment of their army; and that no truce or peace
- Sept. 25.
- Nov. 29.

6. It was entitled, "a solemn league and covenant for the reformation and defence of religion, the honor and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland." The purport of it was, that the religion of the Scottish kirk should be maintained; that the churches of England and Ireland should be reformed; that popery and episcopacy should be extirpated; that the privileges of parliament, the liberties of the three kingdoms, and the just authority of the sovereign, should be carefully preserved; that incendiaries and malignants should be brought to justice; and that the subscribers should zealously defend each other against every adversary. *Rushworth.*

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should be concluded with the enemy without the joint assent of both kingdoms ?

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While this storm menaced him from the north, Charles prepared to meet it by seeking additional succour. It occurred to his reflexion, that a truce with the rebels of Ireland would furnish him with an opportunity of procuring from that kingdom a supply of military strength, which he might employ with success in his British dominions. He was encouraged to this measure by the intelligence which he received from the marquis of Ormond, commander of his forces in Ireland, importing that the necessities of the army were so great, as to render a suspension of hostilities highly expedient. Though the protestant troops had obtained several victories over the rebels, the latter were far from being subdued; and the promise of all their estates, by an act of the English parliament, to those who should contribute in a pecuniary way to the suppression of the revolt, inflamed them to a pertinacious and desperate resistance. The distractions of the country, the ravages committed by the insurgents, and the very slow transportation of supplies from England, had produced the miseries of famine and nakedness, and consequently great discontent, among the soldiers; and it was the opinion of the lords justices and the privy council, as well as of the principal officers of the army, that a cessation of hostility was requisite for preventing the utter desolation of Ireland. Ormond being authorised by Charles to conclude an armistice with the rebels, the council of Kilkenny, to whose direction they had committed their affairs, appointed deputies to treat with him; and it was agreed that there should be an

7. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 485.

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entire cessation of war for one year, and that they should pay 30,800 pounds for the king's use⁸.

Preparations were now made for transporting to Britain a part of the army which had served against the rebels; a circumstance which so displeased the popular party in England, that great clamors were raised against the cessation, and a declaration was published by the two houses, condemning the measure as a sacrifice of the interests of the Hibernian protestants to the artifice and the malignity of the catholics. Some regiments were sent over by Ormond, at different embarkations, before the close of this year; and other detachments arrived early in the following year. A body of about 2500, landing in Flintshire, immediately began to act in the service of Charles, and gained some advantages over the parliamentarians. Being reinforced by the

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arrival of other troops from Ireland, and by a corps of royalists from Chester, they formed the siege of Nantwich, under the auspices of Sir John Byron, whose services had been lately rewarded with a peerage. This proved an unfortunate enterprise; for Sir Thomas Fairfax, encouraged by the late success of his party over the forces of the earl of Newcastle, who had not only been obliged to raise the siege of Hull, but had been routed near Horn-castle, marched into Cheshire, and,

Jan. 25.

with the aid of the garrison of Nantwich, totally defeated Byron, and greatly weakened the regiments which had come from Ireland. Of the royalists, about 200 were slain in this engagement; while most of the considerable officers, and near 1500 of the common soldiers, were made prisoners⁹.

8. Sept. 15. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. chap. xiv.—Clarendon, book vii.—*Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii.

9. Clarendon, book vii.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 299—303.—*Carte's Life of the first Duke of Ormond*, book iv.

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The continuance of the commotions of England induced Anne of Austria, who acted as regent of France in the minority of her son Lewis XIV. to offer her mediation between the king and his parliament. Cardinal Richelieu, from enmity to Charles, as well as from motives of policy, that this prince might not be at leisure to assist the Spaniards, with whom the French had been at war for some years, had fomented the troubles of his three kingdoms; but that turbulent minister was now dead, and was survived only a few months by Lewis XIII. who had long been the passive instrument of his will. The regent intimated to Charles, that she was desirous of serving him in his misfortunes; and she sent the count of Harcourt to England, as ambassador extraordinary. The peers were inclined to treat with this nobleman; but the commons refused to admit his interference, unless he should produce his credentials for treating with them as a parliament; and, as he did not satisfy them in that respect, the mediation was not prosecuted¹⁰. It is supposed, with good reason, that the French court was insincere in this offer, and that the embassy was only intended as a matter of form, not as an evidence of the real wishes of the regent for that accommodation which she professed to desire. The Dutch, about the same time, sent over ambassadors to interpose between the contending parties; but their mediation was as destitute of cordiality as that of France; their republican spirit disposing them to favor the parliamentarians.

The king had for some time forbore to exasperate the two houses by denying that they constituted a legal assembly; but, in the preceding summer, he had prohibited all his subjects, by proclamation, from consider-

10. Clarendon, book vii.—Parl. Hist. vol. xii. p. 453.

ing,

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ing, as a regular part of the legislature, the few members who remained at Westminster; who, by terror and violence, had compelled their sovereign and the greater part of both houses to retire from the parliamentary scene; who oppressed the nation by grievous imposts, for the maintenance of an unnatural rebellion; who violated the laws of the realm, and invaded the liberties of the people. By a subsequent proclamation, he summoned, to a convention at Oxford, all the members who had been expelled for their loyalty, or who had been driven from Westminster by the fear of violence, or who, continuing in their seats, were overawed by the factious leaders, so as not to possess that freedom of deliberation which was essential to a parliament. He had before excepted a certain number¹¹ from the pardon which he offered to the rest of the members; but he now promised that favor to every individual, of either house, who should speedily return to that allegiance which the law enjoined.

Jan. 22.

When the lords and commons of the royal party assembled at Oxford, to the number of above 50 of the former, and above 100 of the latter¹², Charles expressed his regret at the continuance of the national distractions; reprobated the desperate malignity of those who, instead of aiming at the restoration of peace, had persuaded the Scots to invade the realm, and cooperate with them for the subversion of the constitution; and solicited the speedy advice and assistance of his loyal

11. These were the earls of Essex, Warwick, and Stamford; lord Kimbolton (who had lately succeeded his father in the earldom of Manchester); lord Say and Sele; Sir John Hotham, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Sir Henry Ludow, Sir Edward Hungerford, and Sir Francis Popham; Nathaniel Fiennes, John Hampden, John Pym, William Strode, Henry Martyn, Alexander Popham, Isaac Pennington, and John Venn. *Rushworth.*

12. *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. ii. p. 562, 563, 572.

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subjects at this alarming crisis. The assembly adopted some resolutions, condemning the proceedings of the Scottish covenanters as treasonable and perfidious, and representing it as the duty of every British subject, not only by the tie of allegiance, but also by the act of pacification between England and Scotland, to resist and repress the attempts of those traitors. The peers addressed an epistle to the Scottish council, and the conservators of the peace, urging them to prevent the infraction of the treaty, and oppose the unjust hostilities meditated by their countrymen. This letter produced an answer, justifying the designs of the armed Scots, as necessary for the rescue of the king out of the hands of those malignant counsellors who had seduced him into measures ruinous to the prosperity of his people. A reply, equally unfavorable, was given to a pacific letter sent by the lords and commons of Oxford to the earl of Essex; and one which Charles wrote to those of Westminster, proposing the immediate appointment of commissioners to negotiate an accommodation, had not that conciliatory effect which was desired by every true patriot. After these overtures had been rejected, the loyal convention passed several votes, accusing the members at Westminster of having committed high treason in three particulars, viz. in levying war against the king, counterfeiting his great seal, and promoting the Scottish invasion. In other votes, they were stigmatised as violators of the trust reposed in them by their country, and determined enemies to peace ¹³.

Having been deprived of his revenues by the two houses, Charles had hitherto supported his establishment, during the war, by loans and presents from his adherents, and by contributions levied by his soldiers.

13. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. chap. xv.—Clarendon, book vii.

But

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But he now followed the example of his adversaries, by imposing an excise on wine, beer, and other liquors, on grocery, leather, &c. ¹⁴. This impost, being unknown in England before the war between Charles and his parliament, drew loud clamors from the adherents of both parties.

Ap. II.

As soon as the stipulated number of troops had been levied in Scotland, they marched into England, in the midst of winter, under the conduct of Alexander Lesley, earl of Leven, the old general of the covenanters. The earl (now marquis) of Newcastle endeavoured to obstruct their progress; and, though his forces were greatly out-numbered by the enemy, he sought an opportunity of an engagement. By fixing his headquarters at Durham, he reduced them to some difficulties; but the news of a defeat sustained by the royalists in Yorkshire, in the spring, prompted him to quit his station. He had committed the defence of that county to colonel Belassyse, who, being attacked at Selby by lord Fairfax and his son, was completely routed, and taken prisoner with most of his officers, and above 1500 of his men. Apprehensive of being enclosed between the Scottish army and the victorious troops of Fairfax, and desirous of preserving York, the marquis hastened to that city. The Scots now advanced; and, being joined by Fairfax, invested that northern capital ¹⁵.

The principal fortified town which the royalists held between York and Oxford, was Newark, which lord Willoughby of Parham besieged in the spring with about 6000 men. Prince Rupert, hastening to the relief of this town, had a fierce conflict with the besiegers,

¹⁴. Clarendon, book vii.
vol. ii. chap. xvi.—Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

¹⁵. Rushworth, part iii.

then commanded by Sir John Meldrum, whose quarters he at length so straitened, that a parley was desired, the result of which was an agreement, purporting that the parliamentarians might retire in safety, after the delivery of their cannon, musquets, powder, and bullets. Thus the prince not only relieved an important garrison, but procured a valuable supply of arms and ammunition ¹⁶.

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In the west, prince Maurice, having reduced Exeter and Dartmouth, employed his army during the winter in the siege of Plymouth; but the place was so well defended, that he desisted from the enterprise in the spring. Sir William Waller had been ordered by the two houses to march to the relief of Plymouth; but, finding that lord Hopton had stationed himself at Winchester with a respectable body of troops, among which were some regiments which had served in Ireland, he requested his employers to recruit his army. In the interim, Hopton reduced Arundel; but Waller, advancing with an augmented force, slew or captured about 500 royalists at Alton. He soon after recovered Arundel, and encountered Hopton at Cheriton-down, near Alresford. Ruthven earl of Forth (afterwards earl of Brentford), general of the king's army, unwilling to remain inactive, had joined Hopton with a detachment from Oxford; but the earl refused to assume the command, contenting himself with acting as an assistant to that nobleman. The opposite armies consisted respectively of about 10,000 men. The royal cavalry behaved on this occasion with little spirit; for they retreated after the first charge: but the infantry fought with great intrepidity. The event was long doubtful; but the parliamentarians at length drove their enemies from the field, though they could not

Mar. 29.

16. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. chap. xi.—Clarendon.

prevent

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prevent Hopton from carrying off the greater part of his artillery. Lord John Stuart (brother to the duke of Lennox), Sir John Smith, and other gallant officers, perished on the king's side, with about 400 of the common soldiers; while less than 200 were slain on the other side. Hopton now retired to Oxford; and Waller, after a fruitless attempt to gain possession of the castle of Winchester, marched to the westward, but was soon employed in another quarter ¹⁷.

The two houses, desirous of terminating the war by a bold stroke, formed the resolution of besieging the king in Oxford. The earl of Essex was therefore sent with a considerable army to the neighbourhood of that city; and the forces under Waller, being recruited, were ordered to co-operate with the earl. Charles was alarmed at the approach of two armies, each of which equaled his own; and, after they had been posted for some days in the *environs* of Oxford, he retreated in the night, with the bulk of his army, and proceeded to Worcester. Leaving Waller to pursue the king, Essex marched towards the western counties, to oppose prince Maurice. After various marches and counter-marches, Charles and Waller engaged at June 29. Cropredy-bridge in Oxfordshire, to the disadvantage of the latter, whose army gradually mouldered away after the battle, till it was reduced to less than half of its late number ¹⁸.

Though Charles had thus disappointed the hopes which his enemies had conceived of the seizure of his person, his affairs were greatly injured at this time by the ill success of his arms in the north. Having strengthened the king's authority in Lancashire, prince

17. Clarendon, book viii.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. chap. xvii.—Whitelocke, p. 81.—Ludlow, vol. i.

18. Clarendon, book viii.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. chap. xvii.—Historical Discourses, by Sir Edward Walker.

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1644.

Rupert marched to the relief of York, which was now in a state of great danger. The earl of Manchester, with an army collected in the eastern counties, had joined lord Fairfax and the earl of Leven before the walls of that city; and first a blockade, then a closer siege, had been carried on. Terms had been offered by the three generals to the marquis of Newcastle, but were rejected by him as dishonorable. On the approach of the prince, the confederates retired to Marston-Moor, and put themselves in array of battle. Rupert, passing the Ouse near Aldborough, had that river between him and the enemy; and, advancing to York, formed a junction with the forces of the marquis. There was such a want of harmony between the English and Scottish troops, and such mutual jealousy prevailed, that it would have been more advisable for the prince to have declined an engagement, and thus to have given room for the further operation of their discontents, than to have furnished them, by an attack, with an opportunity of sinking their divisions in the terrors of general danger. The marquis remonstrated against the imprudence of risking a battle; and, when he found the prince determined on such a measure, he urged him to defer it till the arrival of some reinforcements which were expected from the north. But Rupert was deaf to all counsel; and, with an army of about 23,000 men, marched against the three generals, whose aggregate force, though diminished by the losses sustained during the siege, and by the absence of detached parties, consisted of near 30,000 men. The left wing of the royal cavalry, conducted by Sir Charles Lucas and colonel Urry, made a furious assault on the right wing of the enemy's horse, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax; and, after a brisk combat, confusion and rout ensued among the troops

July 2,

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troops of the latter division. Several bodies of the fugitives having intermingled themselves with the infantry of lord Fairfax, the disorder proved contagious; and that part of the main body of the confederates soon followed the retreating cavalry, and propagated about the country a report of the discomfiture of the associated armies. In the mean time, prince Rupert, at the head of the right wing of the horse, was fiercely engaged with the opposite cavalry, commanded by the earl of Manchester, under whom Oliver Cromwell served as lieutenant-general. The prince fought with his usual spirit, and reduced Cromwell to a difficulty of maintaining his ground; but the latter at length prevailed; and, being bravely seconded by David Leslie, major-general of the Scottish horse, chased the enemy out of the field. The royal infantry at first repulsed their antagonists; but were afterwards repelled in their turn. In the flight which ensued, some well-disciplined bodies of foot which had been levied by the marquis of Newcastle, obstinately refused to bear a part, but kept their ground with the most unshaken intrepidity, till the majority of their number were slain in their ranks. The left wing of the royalists, ignorant of the fate of their friends, now returned from the pursuit; and, when they thought the victory had devolved to their party, they were assailed by Cromwell, and defeated after a resolute contest¹⁹.

Though

19. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. chap. xvi. — Ludlow, vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 89.—Warwick, p. 279.—Whitelocke and Ludlow, though advocates for the parliamentarian cause, acknowledge that the three generals of that party (the earls of Leven and Manchester, and lord Fairfax) fled out of the field in the utmost consternation; but, from other accounts, this assertion is only true of the Scottish general and lord Fairfax. The chief honor of the victory is ascribed to Cromwell and Sir Thomas Fairfax, the latter of whom, though the major
part

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Though the duration of this engagement did not exceed three hours, it was attended with a more abundant effusion of blood than any of the former battles in this war. About 4000 men were slain on both sides; the far greater part of that loss being sustained by the royalists. Near 1500 prisoners, among whom were 100 officers, fell into the hands of the victors, who also obtained a valuable supply of artillery, arms, and ammunition ²⁰.

The marquis of Newcastle, who had hitherto been the chief support of the royal cause in the north of England, where his influence was uncommonly great, was so mortified at this defeat, disgusted at the haughty and imperious behaviour of prince Rupert, grieved at the ruin of his infantry, and discouraged by the prospect of the king's ruin, that he adopted the precipitate resolution of retiring to the continent ²¹. Another inducement to this desertion of his sovereign arose from his inclination for ease and retirement. He was attached to literary pursuits, and to the cultivation of the polite arts; and, though his courage qualified him for encountering the dangers of the field, the indolence of his temper indisposed him for the burthens of military duty.

The defeat which we have described would have been less injurious to the royal cause, had not prince Rupert, with his army, quitted York on the follow-

part of his wing fled, broke through the royalists with a few troops of horse, and, joining the former, shared in all his success. But lord Holles, the great opponent of the ambitious aims of Cromwell, has boldly, though absurdly, called in question the courage of that usurper, and has particularly, in repugnance to the general testimony of cotemporary writers of both parties, denied his claim to the smallest participation of the laurels of Marston-moor.

²⁰. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. chap. xvi.
book viii.

²¹. Clarendon,

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ing day, leaving that part of the realm in a distracted state. Taking advantage of his retreat, the three generals, having re-assembled their forces, resumed the siege of York, which soon capitulated. The three armies then separated: the earl of Leven marched with the Scots towards Newcastle, and Manchester returned to the southward of the Humber, while lord Fairfax stationed his forces in different parts of Yorkshire, except a detachment which he sent to retrieve the affairs of the parliament in Lancashire²².

July 13.

During these northern transactions, the earl of Essex was employed in the south-western parts of the kingdom. His approach having driven the royalists from the siege of Lyme, which prince Maurice, to the great loss of his men, had besieged for near two months, the earl advanced towards Devonshire, so as to give great alarm to the queen, who then resided at Exeter. To this city she had retired from the apprehension of her being insecure at Oxford; and here she had been lately delivered of a daughter. When her health was re-established, she repaired to Falmouth, and took shipping for her native kingdom, where, though chased by a parliamentary squadron, she arrived in safety. Having resolved to follow the earl into the west, Charles made quick marches while he thought the queen in danger of falling into the hands of her implacable enemies, who had impeached her of high treason for the assistance which she had given him: but, hearing of her escape, he advanced with a slower progress, that he might have the better opportunity of recruiting his army. It was his intention to engage the earl of Essex, before Sir William Waller should be able to co-operate with that commander. The earl directing his course towards

22. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii.

Cornwall, Charles, joined by prince Maurice, followed him thither, and so straitened his quarters, that he found a great difficulty in providing subsistence for his troops ²³.

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As the two houses had been for some time jealous of the earl, whom they considered as unwilling to reduce the king to extremities, he had testified some discontent at their suspicions, and at their encouragement of his rival Waller. Hoping to profit by these jealousies, and by the well-known inclination of Essex for an honorable peace, Charles now wrote a letter to that nobleman, requesting him to concur with him in promoting the attainment of those ends which "both had constantly professed to be their only aims. Let us do this (said he); and, if any shall be so foolishly unnatural as to oppose their king's, their country's, and their own good, we will make them happy, by God's blessing, even against their wills." Had the earl joined his sovereign on this occasion, the two houses would doubtless have relaxed in their demands, and the continuance of the national calamities would have been prevented. But Essex piqued himself on his strict regard to honor, and declared that he would never betray the trust reposed in him by the parliament ²⁴.

The earl's difficulties increasing, strong apprehensions were entertained for his fate by the two houses. A day of humiliation was appointed, that the people might publicly pray for the blessing of Heaven on the arms of their general. Waller was then in the metropolis, soliciting new accessions to his decayed army; and, not being very eager to march to the relief of Essex, he contented himself with sending near 3000

²³. Clarendon, book viii.—Rushworth.—Sir Edward Walker.

²⁴. Rushworth.—Clarendon.

A. D.
1644.

horse, under lieutenant-general Middleton, to harass the king in the west. Various skirmishes happened between the earl's forces and those of Charles; but the latter relinquished his intention of bringing his adversaries to a general engagement, as he hoped to starve them into a surrender. They were then posted at Lestwithiel, while the royalists occupied Bodmyn, Boconock, and the neighbouring stations. Sensible of his danger, Essex sent out his cavalry in the night, by a way in which there were few of the king's horse to oppose them; and they arrived at Plymouth with the loss of about 100 of their number. His infantry then marched with him to Fowey, the enemy infesting his rear. He himself, dreading the thoughts of captivity, embarked in a skiff with his principal officers, and escaped to Plymouth. Skippon, to whose care the fugitive general left his soldiers, proposed to them to venture through the midst of the foe; but this measure was rejected as hazardous, and a treaty was deemed more adviseable. The king refused his assent to the articles which Skippon first desired him to grant; but, after some negotiation, he agreed to the safe departure of that officer and all his men, on condition of the delivery of their cannon, arms, and ammunition. The royalists obtained, on this occasion, a very considerable supply of those articles of which they were in great want; near 40 pieces of ordnance, 6000 arms, 100 barrels of powder, &c.²⁵

Sept. 1.

Sept. 8.

This success in the west gave great encouragement to the king and his adherents, dejected as they had been by the blow which his interests had received in the north. It was soon followed by a message from Charles to the two houses, proposing the immediate commence-

25. Clarendon, book viii.—Sir Edward Walker, p. 64—79.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii.

ment of a treaty. They did not return any answer to this application, alleging that the king, addressing his letter to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster, did not acknowledge them as the parliament of England; but, while they voted a resolution to that purport, they expressed a willingness to expedite the pacific propositions which a committee of their appointment, in concert with commissioners delegated by the Scottish convention, had been for some time preparing. This joint committee had now the chief direction of the war, and of all the measures which were adopted in both kingdoms to the prejudice of the royal cause ²⁶.

Great preparations were made by the directors of the war to recruit the diminished army of the earl of Essex; for, partly by the ravages of famine and disease, and partly by the voluntary retreat of the soldiers, less than half of the 6000 men who marched out of Fowey, remained embodied. A considerable force being levied, a junction was formed in Hampshire between the troops of Essex and Waller; and they were reinforced by the earl of Manchester with the army of the eastern counties. The king having reached Newbury in his way to Oxford, the enemy, with a far superior force, assaulted the works which he had hastily raised, and, in divided bodies, attacked his posts. The conflict was fierce and obstinate; the assailants were occasionally repulsed with great loss, but, returning to the charge, drove the royalists from some of their stations; and, if night had not put a stop to the engagement, a complete victory, in all probability, would have attended the arms of the parliament ²⁷. Charles, who appears to have lost fewer

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1644.

Oct. 27.

²⁶ Parl. Hist. vol. xiii.
vol. ii.—Clarendon, book viii.

²⁷ Rushworth, part iii.

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men than his adversaries, retired in the night to Wallingford, leaving his cannon at Donnington castle. Being afterwards joined at Oxford by some regiments under prince Rupert and the earl of Northampton, he returned into Berks to relieve the garrison of Donnington. He succeeded in that object, and, having brought out his train of artillery, offered battle to the enemy, who now occupied Newbury. The dissensions among the parliamentary officers preventing the acceptance of this challenge, he returned to Oxford for the winter²⁸.

The earl of Essex, alleging indisposition, had not been present in the late action; and the earl of Manchester, who was equally unwilling with that general to promote the absolute ruin of the king, was accused by Cromwell, whose ambitious views now began to appear, of having neglected, either from pusillanimity, or want of zeal for the cause of liberty, that favorable opportunity of a complete triumph, which the superiority of his force, and the advantages of his situation, had lately given him. On the other hand, Manchester charged Cromwell with disobedience and neglect of duty, and declared that he knew him to be a man of very deep designs; an assertion which derived sufficient credit from a remark addressed by Oliver to the earl, importing that, if the latter would firmly adhere to honest men, he would find himself at the head of an army which would give law both to the king and the parliament²⁹. Other leaders of the popular party were jealous of the designs of this aspiring genius, as were also the Scottish commissioners; insomuch that, at a meeting in the house of the earl of Essex, the lord-chancellor Loudoun, the chief of the northern dele-

28. Sir Edward Walker.—Ludlow.—Clarendon,

29. Clarendon, book viii.

A. D.
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gates, accused Cromwell as an incendiary between the two nations, and a dangerous enemy to the public welfare. Holles, and Sir Philip Stapylton, concurred in this opinion; but Maynard and Whitelocke opposing the idea of bringing forward a public accusation against Oliver, till more ample grounds should appear for the charge, the affair was relinquished ³⁰.

Besides the principal actions of this campaign, other events occurred, which require a cursory mention. Massey, the brave governor of Gloucester, reduced several towns and fortresses in that county, as well as in the shires of Monmouth and Wilts, and twice destroyed the works of the royalists at Beachly on the Severn. In South-Wales, the earl of Carbery was opposed by colonel Laugharn, who, being assisted by a squadron of ten sail, established the authority of the two houses throughout the county of Pembroke, and was appointed commander of their forces in that and the adjoining shires. In North-Wales, the strength of the royal party declined; and lord Byron was totally defeated near Montgomery, with the slaughter of about 300 of his men, and the captivity of above 1000, chiefly those who had been brought over from Ireland after the cessation of arms. Sir John Meldrum, who had a share in this victory, was afterwards employed before Liverpool, which he recovered after a siege of some weeks ³¹.

With regard to the operations of the Scottish forces under the earl of Leven, we find that, after the surrender of York, they marched to Newcastle, and prosecuted the siege of that town, in conjunction with another army of their countrymen, commanded by the earl of Calendar, who had entered England in the

³⁰. Whitelocke, p. 111, 112.
part iii. vol. ii.—Whitelocke.

³¹. Rushworth,

summer.

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1644.

summer. After a siege of above two months, the town was taken by storm; and the castle was then surrendered by the governor at discretion³². This conquest was very acceptable to the two houses; and their chief friends, the Londoners, were extremely pleased at an event which relieved them from the great inconvenience sustained by the want of their favorite fuel.

The propositions for peace, being at length adjusted by the joint committee of England and Scotland, were presented to the king, who appointed seventeen commissioners to treat with twelve deputies selected from the two houses, and eleven Scottish delegates³³.

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1645.
Jan. 30.

The negotiators met at Uxbridge; and they were employed near a month in the discussion of the different points connected with the great object of an accommodation. The chief of the articles drawn up by the committee, were the following: that all declarations against the legality of the proceedings of the two houses at Westminster, and of the late convention at Edinburgh, should be revoked; that the king should subscribe and swear to the solemn league and covenant; that an act should pass for the abolition of epi-

32. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. chap. xvi.

33. The royal commissioners were, James duke of Richmond and Lenox; William marquis of Hertford; the earls of Southampton, Kingston, and Chichester; the lords Capel, Seymour, Hatton, and Colepeper; Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state; Sir Edward Hyde, chancellor of the exchequer; the chief baron Lane, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Thomas Gardiner, John Ashburnham, Geoffrey Palmer, and (for matters of religion) Dr. Stuart. The parliamentary deputies were the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Denbigh; viscount Wenman; Denzil Holles, the younger Vane, Pierrepont, St. John, Whitelocke, Crew, and Prideaux. The Scottish commissioners were, the lord-chancellor Loudoun, the marquis of Argyle, the lords Maitland and Balmerino, and seven individuals of inferior rank. *Rushworth.*

A. D.
1645.

scopacy; that the laws should be strictly enforced against papists; that the court of wards should be suppressed; that the cessation concluded with the rebels of Ireland should be annulled; that the princes Rupert and Maurice, and 56 other adherents of the king, should be punished as traitors; that all catholics who were actively concerned on the royal side either in England or in Scotland, and all persons who had promoted the Irish rebellion, should also expect no pardon; that all members of either house of parliament, who had adhered to the enemies of that assembly, should be excluded from the court, and (as well as all ecclesiastics, and all professors of the law, of the royal party) should be incapacitated from holding any office without the consent of both houses, and obliged to give up a third part of their estates; that those royalists who had submitted to the parliament, except the most indigent, should forfeit a tenth part of their property; that the militia, the forts, and the navy, both in England and Scotland, should be subject to the direction of commissioners named by the respective parliaments of those realms, and that it should be deemed high treason for any person to levy forces without their consent; that the commissioners thus appointed for the two kingdoms should also have the management of the war in Ireland; that the governors of the royal children, and all officers of state, should be persons of parliamentary appointment; and that the king should not make war or peace without the consent of the two British parliaments³⁴.

The business of religion was the first subject of deliberation; but the commissioners could not agree on this head. From conscientious as well as politic

34. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. chap. xix.—Dugdale's Appendix to his Views of the Troubles.

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motives, Charles was strongly attached to episcopal government; and he saw no reason to consent to the annihilation of a system which, for so many ages, had formed a part of the national constitution. Though such a measure was obstinately demanded by his opponents, he would only consent to a limitation of the authority of bishops, and to the redress of ecclesiastical abuses. The next head was that of the militia, which had already occasioned such violent disputes. The king authorised his delegates to consent to the surrender of the military as well as naval power, for three or even for seven years, into the hands of a certain number of commissioners, half of whom should be named by himself, and half by the two houses; but this concession did not give the desired satisfaction. With regard to the affairs of Ireland, no agreement could take place, the king refusing to contribute to the ruin of his authority in that kingdom, by resigning to his enemies either the exclusive management of the war with the catholics, or (which they also demanded) the nomination of the governor and all the great officers of the Hibernian establishment. These were the three heads on which the negotiators principally debated; but, if they had agreed in these, the parliamentarians had no instructions to recede from the other extravagant demands contained in the propositions; many of which were such as no prince of honor or spirit could grant. Thus, by the pertinacity of the democratic party, the negotiations were rendered wholly fruitless; and the decision of the contest was reserved for the power of the sword³⁵.

While the king's adversaries were preparing for the treaty of Uxbridge, they had wreaked their vengeance on one of his former favorites. Archbishop Laud,

35. Clarendon, book viii.—Whitelocke.—Dugdale.

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after an imprisonment of above three years, had been brought to his trial in the preceding spring, being charged with the commission of high treason against the king and kingdom, in having endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm and the privileges of parliament, to establish a system of tyranny both in church and state, and to introduce popish superstition and idolatry. Finding (as in the case of the earl of Strafford) that the evidence against the primate was insufficient, in point of law, to induce the peers to pronounce sentence against him in their judicial capacity, the commons had recourse to a parliamentary ordinance for his attainder, which passed their house with only one dissentient voice. Offended with the tardiness of the lords, who suffered the ordinance to linger in their house, the demagogues menaced them with a renewal of those tumults which had proved so efficacious in promoting the destruction of Strafford. In a very thin house, the peers at length complied with the wishes of the commons; and, the royal pardon being in vain pleaded by the archbishop, he was beheaded on Tower-hill in the beginning of this year³⁶.

The fate of this celebrated prelate was greatly lamented by the friends of learning, who respected him as a munificent patron of their interests; and by the members of the church of England, who considered him as an able champion of the cause of orthodoxy. Notwithstanding the hatred borne to him by the heads of the parliamentary faction, it is probable, from the length of time which elapsed between his impeachment and his trial, that they would have suffered him to

³⁶ Jan. 10. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 839.—Clarendon, book viii.

escape

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escape with his life, had not their renewed connexions with the Scots instigated them to gratify those bigoted presbyterians with the blood of a prelate who had fought the overthrow of their favorite system.

A few days before the execution of the unfortunate Laud, Sir John Hotham, whose conduct, in securing the magazine of Hull against the early attempts of the king, had been so highly pleasing to the two houses, suffered the same death for having manifested an inclination to join the royal party, the consideration of his former services not having sufficient weight to overbalance his subsequent treachery. His son, an officer in the parliamentary army, was, for a similar offence, condemned by martial law to the same punishment ³⁷.

We have already intimated, that some of the leading members of the popular party were inclined to an accommodation with Charles, on such terms as might sufficiently secure the liberties of the people, without reducing the king to a state of abject dependence. Of these friends of peace, in the upper house, the chief were the earls of Essex and Manchester; and, in the lower, Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapylton, Sir John Clotworthy, and Sir John Maynard. But the views of these members were inconsistent with the interested purposes of another party, who aimed at the subversion of the constitution, and at the establishment of such a system of government as might tend to their own aggrandisement. The leaders of this faction had hitherto concurred with the former; but they now disclosed their intentions of overleaping the boundaries which the other partisans of opposition had prescribed to themselves, and of promoting the depression of every true friend to the constitution, and the utter ruin of the king and his principal adherents. These ambitious

37. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 803.

chiefs,

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chiefs, who preferred their private interest to the public welfare, were, Oliver St. John, Sir Henry Vane, junior, Oliver Cromwell, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Sir Henry Mildmay, Nathaniel Fiennes, Henry Martin, and others. Of this party, Cromwell, by insinuation, artifice, and hypocrisy, soon became the head. With regard to religion, these men neither wished for the preservation of episcopacy, nor for the introduction of the presbyterian system; but were inclined to the doctrines of the *independents*, a set of republican fanatics, who, not considering the institutions of presbytery as a sufficient departure from the hierarchical principles, derived their denomination from their rejection of all ecclesiastical government, except that which each congregation might exercise within itself.

Cromwell and his associates, sensible of the unwillingness of Essex and Manchester, and other chief officers in the service of the two houses, to enter into those schemes which tended to the ruin of the monarchy, projected the dismissal of the two earls and their friends, by means of an ordinance for incapacitating every member of either house, during the war, from the possession of any military or civil post. In a short speech, Oliver complained of the selfishness of those members who had "great places and commands, and who, by interest in parliament, and power in the army, would perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end," (though the fact was, that the persons alluded to wished for a speedy termination of the war), and gave it as his opinion, that, if there should not be a new model of the army, and a more vigorous prosecution of the war, the people, impatient of a continuance of their present burthens, would insist on the conclusion of a peace, however dishonorable the terms might be to the two houses.

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houses. Tate, a subaltern of the faction, then moved for the introduction of an ordinance to the above-mentioned purport; and, after some debate, the commons agreed to the motion. To give solemnity to the scheme, a fast was ordered to be observed by both houses for imploring a blessing on the intended reformation. The preachers employed on this occasion were well affected to the cause of the independents, and warmly recommended the "glorious design" which that party had in view. As the scheme had a specious air, it met with the assent of many who were ashamed of seeming desirous of offices: some, who had little expectation of profitable employment, even if the ordinance should be rejected, promoted it out of envy to others of greater influence; and the whole independent faction supported it with all the efficacy of art and intrigue. Hence *the self-denying ordinance* (as it was styled) passed the lower house. The peers, however, averse to the views of the independents, received it with indignation, and rejected it on the third reading. The commons then passed a bill for raising a new army of 22,000 men, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax; to which the lords, at the repeated instances of the other house, gave their assent. Another ordinance being sent up for the concurrence of the peers, for settling the power to be given to Fairfax, and putting the forts and garrisons under his authority, the earl of Essex declared his intention of resigning his commission; and the house immediately passed the ordinance. He delivered up his trust on the following day; and his example was followed by the earls of Manchester and Denbigh. In lieu of that self-denying ordinance which the lords had rejected, a new one of the same nature was now agreed to by both houses, with

Apl. 3.

with the exception of provincial lieutenants, *custodes rotulorum*, justices of peace, &c. from the general discharge³⁸.

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So popular were the earls of Essex and Manchester, that, had they insisted on retaining their commissions, their soldiers would probably have adhered to them, in opposition to all the efforts of the Cromwellian faction. But they deemed it more prudent to acquiesce in the new model, than to embroil themselves in dissensions with a powerful party. Of the other members of the legislature who lost their commissions by this ordinance, the most eminent were, the earl of Warwick, high admiral, the earl of Stamford, his son lord Grey of Groby, Sir William Waller, Holles, and Stapylton. Cromwell affected an intention of relinquishing his command in the army; but, by his great influence and reputation, by the solicitations of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and by the aid of artifice, he obtained a series of dispensations from the ordinance³⁹. Sir William Brereton, and some other members who were less obnoxious to the independents than the chiefs of the presbyterian or more moderate party, were favored with dispensations; and, at length, the ordinance was infringed in many instances.

The new general was a man of great courage and martial skill; but, being weak and credulous, he was easily duped by Cromwell, and became a mere tool in the hands of that artful leader, whose ambitious aims were greatly promoted by the new military arrangements. Sir Thomas was empowered by his commission (in which, it is observable, the clause for the security of the king's person was not inserted) to select such

38. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. chap. i.—Parl. Hist. vol. xiii.

39. Journal of the Commons.

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officers and common soldiers as he thought proper, out of the armies of the earls of Essex and Manchester, and of Sir William Waller. By the interested diligence of Cromwell and his creatures, the new-modeled army, formed by selections from old regiments, and by levies of new troops, leaned, for the most part, to the maxims of the independent party. A more rigid discipline was introduced than had before prevailed; and the natural courage of the men received so strong a *stimulus* from religious zeal, that they despised the dangers of the field, and, considering themselves as engaged in a pious service, displayed an extraordinary ardor of exertion. Oliver, whose active disposition had prompted him, at the commencement of the civil war, to raise a troop of horse, had infused into his men, by his exhortations and example, a fanatical and puritan spirit; had taught them that, in opposing the king, they were fighting the battles of the Almighty; and had assured them, that the joys of Paradise would be the reward of their zealous efforts in such a cause. When he had increased this troop to a regiment, he did not neglect the opportunity of extending the same spirit; and the example of his soldiers now proved highly useful in promoting an enthusiastic fervor throughout the new army. The followers of the king, less precise and more licentious in their behaviour, indulged their mirth at the expence of the sanctified *round-heads*⁴⁰, and ridi-

40. This appellation was bestowed, at the beginning of the disturbances, on the parliamentarians, many of whom had close-cropped hair. When the populace crowded about Whitehall, and exclaimed against prelates and courtiers, Hyde, one of the volunteer officers of the king's guard, cried out that he would cut the throats of those *round-headed dogs* who bawled against bishops. The officers, in return, were denominated *cavaliers* by the opposite faction, from their superior gentility and military rank, or from their haughty and contemptuous treatment of the clamorous rabble; and the name was soon extended to all the royalists.

culed the extravagances of the preaching warrior and the military devotee.

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The first exploit performed by any of the forces of the new-modeled army, tended to the increase of Cromwell's reputation. Being ordered to march into Oxfordshire, he engaged, at Islip, a strong body of the king's cavalry, and soon put his antagonists to flight, taking the queen's standard, and near 200 prisoners. He then approached Blechingdon-house, which was surrendered at the first demand by the governor, colonel Windebank, who, for this neglect of his duty, was shot to death at Oxford, by the sentence of a court-martial. Having routed a detachment at Bampton, Cromwell entered Berks, and invested Farringdon, but was repulsed in an assault. In a skirmish between lord Goring and a part of Oliver's forces, at Radcot-bridge, the latter were obliged to retreat; and their commander was prevented from executing his intention of engaging Goring on a subsequent day, by the return of that general into the West ⁴¹.

April
24.

On the removal of the aged earl of Brentford from the station of general of the royal army, Rupert was advanced to that post. It was the wish of this prince to march to the northward; and, though the majority of the counsellors at Oxford advised the king to undertake an expedition to the south-west, that he might engage Sir Thomas Fairfax before that commander should be reinforced by Cromwell, the persuasions of his nephew prevailed. When Charles approached Chester, with an intention of driving his enemies from the siege of that important city, he found that they had relinquished their enterprize. He would then have advanced into some of the northern provinces, to oppose the earl

⁴¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. chap. 2.—Whitelocke, p. 133, 139.—Heath's Chronicle.

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May 31.

of Leven, had not he received intelligence that Fairfax, who had commenced his progress to Taunton (which had sustained a long siege from the royalists), had been recalled by his employers, and ordered to invest Oxford. In the hope of diverting Sir Thomas from the prosecution of this siege, Charles resolved to attack Leicester. A strong battery being raised against this town, a breach was quickly made in the walls; and, in the night, a general assault commenced, which put the besiegers, at the break of day, in possession of the place. Elate with this success, the royalists sacked the town, in which they found a considerable quantity of valuable commodities, money, and plate. The soldiers and armed townsmen, to the number of 1500, were made prisoners; and a good supply of ordnance and ammunition, as well as 1000 horses, fell into the hands of the conquerors⁴². The number of men slain in the assault amounted to about three hundred, including both sides; and, of that loss, the king sustained three fourths. He was now advised to hasten to the relief of Oxford, while the terror of his success at Leicester was unallayed; and though, by detaching lord Goring to the west, and leaving a garrison at his new conquest, he had greatly weakened his army, which was also diminished by the retreat of no small number of his men with their plunder, he resolved to follow the advice, without waiting the arrival of those succours which he expected⁴³.

Fairfax, in consequence of new instructions from the governing committee, now raised the siege of Oxford, and marched in quest of the royalists, that he might bring them to an engagement. He soon found the de-

⁴². Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 35.

⁴³. Sir Edward Walker, p. 125—128.—Clarendon, book ix.

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first opportunity. Charles, hearing of the approach of the enemy, called a council of war; and, notwithstanding that inferiority of force which rendered it prudent for him to decline a general action, the advice of the majority induced him to incur that hazard. The opposite armies met near Naseby, in the shire of Northampton; and a fierce conflict there ensued, to the irreparable ruin of the king's interests.

In this important battle, the following were the arrangements of the two armies. The princes Rupert and Maurice appeared at the head of the right wing of their uncle's forces, consisting of cavalry; of which also the left wing was solely composed, which was conducted by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had lately supported the royal cause in the north with spirit and activity. Lord Astley directed the operations of the main body, formed of infantry; and the king took his station at the head of the reserve, which consisted of his peculiar guards of horse and foot, exclusive of other regiments. The parliamentary forces were likewise arranged in four divisions: Fairfax and major-general Skippon led the main body; lieutenant-general Cromwell commanded the right wing; Ireton (Oliver's son-in-law) conducted the left; and the colonels Rainsborough, Hammond, and Pride, headed the reserve.

The engagement was commenced by prince Rupert, who, before the preparations of the whole army for battle were completed, precipitately attacked Ireton's wing, and threw it into disorder, the commander himself being wounded and made prisoner, though he recovered his liberty on the turn of the battle. The prince, pushing his advantage, chased his antagonists from the field, and indulged himself in all the eagerness of pursuit. Between the main bodies, the contest

June 14.

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was extremely vigorous, each in it's turn repelling the other. In the mean while, the wings of Cromwell and Langdale engaged with great spirit; and some of the divisions under the command of the former began to give way; but he soon rallied them, and fiercely continued the combat till he had compelled his opponents to seek refuge in flight. Detaching a part of his wing to pursue them, he led the rest against the royal infantry, who were by this time greatly disordered by the gallant exertions of Fairfax. Charles now prepared to lead his horse-guards to an attack upon the victorious cavalry of Cromwell; but, in consequence of an erroneous delivery of orders, they began a hasty retreat, in a confusion from which it was impracticable to reclaim them, notwithstanding all the efforts of the king, who, regardless of personal danger, endeavoured, by his voice and example, to animate his discouraged troops. Some of them, indeed, returned, and charged the foe, but with so little energy, that the attack proved wholly fruitless. At this crisis, Rupert and his brother re-appeared in the field; and Charles strenuously labored, though without effect, to prevail on their men to concur in a fresh assault. Fairfax, having now defeated the king's infantry, was on the point of making a furious charge on the horse; but they anticipated his intentions by a disorderly flight, and were pursued to a considerable distance. About 500 royalists lost their lives in this action; and among the slain were many distinguished officers. On the side of the victors, according to some accounts, above 1000 persons were killed or wounded; and others represent the slain only as amounting to that number: but these statements appear to be exaggerated, while other calculations, which diminish the loss of that party to 100, seem to be equally erroneous in the opposite extreme. The king's

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king's chief loss was in prisoners; for above 300 of his officers, and 4000 of his common soldiers, were captured. He also lost 12 pieces of ordnance, about 8000 arms, 200 carriages, and all his baggage, including his cabinet of papers, among which were found copies of his letters to the queen. With a view of bringing his sincerity in question, these epistles were published by order of the two houses; and it must be acknowledged that they contain several passages which are not altogether consistent with his public declarations, or with the high opinion entertained of his faith and honor by some of his advocates ⁴⁴.

The victory of Naseby was followed by a series of success to the parliamentary arms. While the king directed his course towards Wales, to recruit his army, Fairfax advanced to Leicester, of which the terror of his name produced a speedy surrender. He then altered his *route*, and began his march into the west, to oppose lord Goring, who, with a strong army, had reduced Taunton to extremity. Colonel Blake (who afterwards so highly distinguished himself as an admiral) had taken this town in the preceding year; and it had sustained a long siege from the royalists, with intervals of relief, from the autumn of that year to the present summer. A considerable number of men had fallen during the siege, particularly on the side of the assailants. Though a great part of the town had been reduced to ashes, the garrison and inhabitants were resolutely bent on a longer defence. Hearing of the approach of the victorious Fairfax, Goring relinquished the siege; and, after a skirmish, in which one of his

44. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. chap. ii.—Whitlocke, p. 145, 146.
—Sir Edw. Walker, p. 130, 131.—Clarendon, book ix.—Ludlow, vol. i.

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July 10.

detachments received a defeat from the valor of Massey, the main body of his army suffered a complete discomfiture near Langport, about 250 of his men being slain, and 1400 captured. Sir Thomas now marched to Bridgwater, a well-fortified town; and, having gained one division of it by storm, he procured from colonel Wyndham a surrender of the remaining part, on terms not very honorable to the garrison, the whole number being obliged to submit to captivity. Bath was soon after reduced by a small party; and the siege of Sherbourne was the next enterprise. During this siege, Cromwell marched against the *club-men*, as those provincials were called who rose in different counties, to prevent the soldiers of either party from exercising their predatory habits. As some gentlemen who favoured the royal cause countenanced these club-men, in the hope of prevailing on them to join the standard of Charles, the opposite party contracted a strong jealousy of them; and Oliver, meeting a body of 4000 in Wiltshire, required them to lay down their arms, and, on their refusal, attacked and quickly dispersed them, with the slaughter of some, and the capture of near 400. Returning to Sherbourne, Cromwell was an useful assistant at the siege. Sir Lewis Dives defended the town with spirit, till he found the enemy likely to prevail by storm: he then offered to surrender on honourable terms; but Fairfax answered that he would grant no terms but quarter, and immediately gave orders for a vigorous assault, which put him in possession of the place. The soldiers being made prisoners, and the town and castle plundered, Sir Thomas resolved to attempt the reduction of Bristol. To this city prince Rupert had retired after the battle of Naseby, and had promised the king that he would defend it with the utmost perseverance; but, in this respect, he greatly disappointed

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pointed both the hopes of his friends and the expectations of his enemies; for, either from being weary of the war, or from the inconsistency of a long siege with the eagerness and impatience of his disposition, he capitulated in less than three weeks. Charles was so surprised and incensed at the conduct of his nephew, that he wrote to him in warm terms of reproach, revoked all the commissions which he had granted to the prince, and desired him to quit the kingdom: but he afterwards consented to sign a testimonial, exculpating Rupert from the charge of having discovered a want of courage or fidelity in that surrender ⁴⁵.

Sept. 10.

In his endeavours for the renovation of his army, the king was very unsuccessful. Though he resided some weeks in Glamorganshire, his presence was of little use in forwarding the desired reinforcements, the provincial gentry being discontented and mutinous. Here he was exposed to danger from the progress of the Scots, who, having reduced Carlisle after a very pertinacious defence, and ruined the king's authority in the north of England, marched to the southward, and invested Hereford: but, when they had continued before that city for a month, they raised the siege, on the report of the king's approach ⁴⁶.

The extraordinary success of the marquis of Montrose in North-Britain induced Charles to form the resolution of attempting to effect a junction with that gallant nobleman. Having levied a body of Scots, and procured a supply of men from Ireland, Montrose had taken the field in the preceding year in defence of the royal cause; and though the number of his followers

45. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. chap. ii.—Clarendon, book ix.—Whitelocke.

46. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. chap. 4.—Sir Edw. Walker.

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did not exceed 3000, he attacked at Tipper-Muir an army of covenanters, consisting of near 7000 men, under the command of lord Elcho, whom, with a very trivial loss on his own side, he routed with great slaughter. This victory was quickly succeeded by another, which he obtained at Aberdeen. By well-conducted retreats, he eluded the vigilance of the numerous forces of the enemy; and, making a sudden irruption into the territories of his powerful though not warlike adversary, the marquis of Argyle, he committed furious ravages. At Inverlochy, he gave a very bloody defeat to the troops of that nobleman; and his success so alarmed the covenanters, that they recruited their forces with great diligence, and put them under the command of experienced officers. With a small party, he stormed Dundee; and, being there surprised by the generals Baillie and Urry, he extricated himself from his dangerous situation with wonderful address. Those commanders afterwards dividing their strength, he met with the latter at Ald-erne, and, with less than 2000 men, fiercely encountered near 4000. Though his right wing was disordered, he at length defeated the enemy with considerable slaughter. At Alford he routed Baillie, and slew a great part of his infantry. But the greatest victory obtained by this illustrious warrior was at Kilsyth, between Stirling and Glasgow. Here, with about 5000 men, he engaged near 8000, better provided than his own with all the apparatus of war. Argyle and Lindsay, assisted by Baillie, commanded the hostile army; but neither the leaders, nor the common men, distinguished themselves on this occasion. A regiment of cuirassiers, at the first charge, gave way to the efforts of the royalists, who drove them on the infantry of their own party; and such terror and confusion prevailed, that, after a very short resistance, a total

rout

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roul of the covenanters ensued. Argyle fled in the utmost consternation; and the victors followed their fugitive enemies with such sanguinary vengeance, that above 5000 of the latter are said to have been slain in the pursuit ⁴⁷.

Before the battle of Kilsyth, the king had begun his march to the northward, that, in concert with Montrose, he might crush the power of the covenanters, and bring away an army of loyal Scots to make head against his enemies in England. To obstruct his progress, major-general Pointz marched into Yorkshire with a strong detachment; and the earl of Leven directed his lieutenant-general, David Leslie, to employ the Scottish cavalry in the same business. His intentions being thus thwarted, Charles returned to the southward; and, having reduced Huntingdon in his way, arrived at Oxford ⁴⁸.

While the victorious marquis of Montrose, who now acted as the king's lieutenant in the government of Scotland, was engaged in the great work of re-establishing the authority of Charles in that realm, he was surprised by a sudden reverse of fortune. Lieutenant-general Leslie advanced from England with about 5000 horse; and, being reinforced, on his arrival in Scotland, with a body of foot, he hastened to meet the hero of the north. Montrose had directed his course towards the Tweed, that he might be ready to join a detachment of cavalry which, in consequence of his great want of forces of that description, Charles intended to send to him. He also expected to be joined by the earls of Roxburgh and Home, who had engaged to recruit his army with their friends and followers. But it soon appeared that these noblemen held intelli-

47. Guthry's Mem. ad annos 1644 et 1645.—Wishart.—Rushworth.

48. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 116.—Whitelocke, p. 153, 154.

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Sept. 13. Soon after the ruinous defeat of Montrose, the king was assailed with fresh misfortunes. Having reinforced his small army by a draught from the garrison of Oxford, he relieved Hereford, and prepared for the relief of Bristol; but, on the premature surrender of that city, he marched towards Chester, the suburbs of which were then occupied by a body of parliamentarians under colonel Jones. Sir Marmaduke Langdale was ordered to post himself, with most of the royal horse, on the eastern side of the town; and Charles entered it with the remainder of his force, having formed the scheme of destroying the besiegers between two fires. The next morning, before the royalists had Sept. 24. commenced the execution of this scheme, major-general Pointz made his appearance on Rowton-heath, and an engagement quickly ensued between his troops and those of Langdale. The advantage fell to the latter; but Jones advancing to assist Pointz, the battle was renewed, and Langdale, being attacked both in the front and rear, suffered a total defeat. Pointz pursuing him to the walls of the city, lord Gerard, with the earls of

⁴⁹. Guthry's Memoirs, ad annum 1645.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i, p. 231, 232.

Lindsey and Lichfield, marched out, and attacked the major-general with such vigor, as to repulse him. A body of musqueteers then approached, and, by a well-directed assault, confused the royalists, who were obliged to resign to their enemies the honors of victory. The earl of Lichfield, and above 400 other royalists, were slain, and 1000 were made prisoners. Charles retired to Denbigh the next day, with a small party of horse; and, being there joined by his routed forces, he evaded the vigilance of Pointz, and crossed the country to Newark, whence he returned to Oxford, after having detached lord Digby (now secretary of state), and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, into Scotland, at the head of 1500 horse, to endeavour to join Montrose. These commanders defeated a regiment of cavalry at Sherbourne in Yorkshire, and also a detachment of infantry. They afterwards engaged a body of horse under colonel Copley, and at first had the advantage; but they were at length routed. In their progress to the northward, they met with another disaster, being defeated near Carlisle by Sir John Brown. When they reached Dumfries, they had not 1000 horse remaining; and, finding themselves in great danger of being cut off by Leslie in their advance, or by other enemies in their retreat, they took shipping for the isle of Man with their chief officers, while their forsaken troops dispersed themselves in different directions ⁵⁰.

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Oct. 15.

So eager were the king's adversaries to hasten his ruin, that they would not suffer the war to languish during the winter. They prosecuted several sieges during that unfavorable season; and their success greatly circumscribed the quarters of the royalists.

⁵⁰. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. chap. iv.—Whitelocke, p. 160, 162.—Clarendon, book ix.

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Charles now renewed his applications for peace; but the two houses, for some time, refused even to answer his messages; and, when they condescended to reply, they rejected his request of a safe-conduct for those whom he wished to employ as negotiators, and opposed, in reproachful terms, his desire of meeting his parliament in person. They assured him, however, that they were preparing such articles of accommodation, as would merit his ready acceptance, if he wished to give satisfaction and security to his people⁵¹.

In the decline of his affairs, the king had endeavoured to procure a considerable army from Ireland; and he had therefore given instructions to the marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of that realm, to conclude a peace with the rebels, on such terms as might secure their co-operation with him against his British enemies. As his necessities increased, he offered more favorable conditions than he had at first proposed; and, by the advice of his queen, employed lord Herbert of Ragland (on whom he had conferred the title of earl of Glamorgan) in a secret negotiation with the confederate catholics. The earl, being a zealous papist, appears to have exceeded his instructions; for he concluded a peace with the council of Kilkenny, on terms highly injurious to the protestant interest. He stipulated, that, in consideration of a supply of 10,000 men for the service of his majesty, all the catholics of Ireland should be gratified with the free and public exercise of their religion, and with an exemption from the jurisdiction of the protestant clergy; that they should retain all the churches and ecclesiastical revenues which they had at any time enjoyed since the eruption of the rebellion; and that the legislature should pass an act for exempting them from the operation of all former

51. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. chap. 5.

statutes which had been enacted against them, and declaring them capable of all offices of trust and power. These articles were accompanied by a defeasance, importing that the earl would not undertake to bind Charles, even after he should have received the 10,000 men, to the execution of this treaty, but would use every effort, without informing him of the defeasance, to prevail on him to consent to the conditions; and that he was discharged by the catholics, both in honor and conscience, from all the consequences of the king's eventual rejection of the agreement⁵². This defeasance may be considered as a vindication of Charles from the stigma of his having authorized Glamorgan to grant such extravagant terms. Lord Digby (who was then in Ireland), having procured a copy of the treaty, produced it before the privy council, and imputed the crime of treason to the earl, who was immediately committed to prison, from which, however, he was soon after released, at the intercession of the catholic chiefs. In a letter to the English parliament, Charles declared, that, though the earl had received a commission for raising forces in Ireland, he had no authority to treat of any other business without the privity of the lord-lieutenant, much less to agree to any articles respecting religion, particularly of a nature "so repugnant to the public professions and known resolutions" of his sovereign⁵³. But the two houses were unwilling to believe the royal assertions; and, when a copy of the treaty, and other dispatches sent by lord Digby to the king, were intercepted by Fairfax on the capture of the vessel which conveyed them, they were published under the following title: "The

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⁵². Appendix to Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, number 27.—Birch's *Inquiry into the Case of the Earl of Glamorgan*.

⁵³. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 222.

"Earl

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"Earl of Glamorgan's Negotiations and colorable Commitment in Ireland demonstrated; or the Irish Plot for bringing 10,000 Men and Arms into England ⁵⁴."

On the king's disavowal of Glamorgan's treaty, the Hibernian catholics, though not without murmuring, began to think of accepting the less favorable propositions of the marquis of Ormond. Rinuccini, who, as papal nuncio, had lately arrived in Ireland, and had brought a supply of arms, ammunition, and money, endeavoured to obstruct the conclusion of a peace, unless the terms should be highly advantageous to the Romish party. Notwithstanding his efforts, a treaty was at length concluded, which relieved the papists from some disabilities, suffered them to exercise their religion with impunity, and granted a general amnesty for treasons and such other offences as had been committed from the commencement of the rebellion ⁵⁵. For these favors they agreed to furnish Charles with 10,000 men; but the ruin of that prince preceded the completion of the preparations intended for his service, which they prosecuted with tardiness and reluctance.

After his late active but unfortunate campaign, the king had sufficient leisure, in his winter retreat, to reflect on the decay of his fortunes. A series of defeats and losses had so ruined his affairs, that he had scarcely the shadow of an army remaining, or a single county in which his influence was not almost annihilated by that of his opponents. Since the co-operation of the Scots with the southern mal-contented, he had been gradually deprived of his authority in the north of England, over which, before the emigration of the marquis of Newcastle, he had a great sway; and those fanatical

⁵⁴. Husband's Collection of Ordinances from 1642 to 1646. p. 811.

⁵⁵. Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii.

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intruders had also made some progress in other parts of the realm. In the midland counties, few garrisons of the royalists now remained. In North-Wales, the king's interest had begun to decline; in South-Wales, it was subverted. In the eastern shires of England, from the Humber to the channel, the two houses wholly predominated. In the west, and the south, Fairfax and Cromwell, with divided forces, promoted, with rapid success, the parliamentary cause. Indeed, Charles, from the successive loss of his towns and fortresses, and the ruin of his armies, had little prospect of long preserving even one station in which he might repose with freedom and security.

The prince of Wales, who was now in his sixteenth year, resided in the west, to which he had been sent by his father, partly from motives of safety, that his escape to the continent, in case of impending danger, might be facilitated, and partly from an idea that his presence would animate the exertions of the royalists. He had received the title of generalissimo, and was authorised to preside over the western associated counties. He was attended by a council, composed of his governor the earl of Berks, the lords Capel, Hopton, and Colepeper, and Sir Edward Hyde, who had for some time acted as chancellor of the exchequer. His authority was insufficient to restrain the factious rivalry which prevailed among the officers; and he was particularly harassed by the imcompliant spirit of lord Goring and Sir Richard Grenville, between whom and his counsellors no harmony subsisted. When the progress of Fairfax threatened the speedy loss of the west, Goring, whose indolence and misconduct had contributed to the success of the enemy, abdicated the command of the army in that quarter, and retired to France. Lord Hopton, by the prince's appointment, became

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became the commander of Goring's forces, stigmatised by lord Clarendon as a "dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army." With troops so ill calculated to withstand the orderly and well-disciplined bands of Fairfax, Hopton advanced to the relief of Exeter, which was reduced to extremity by a long blockade. Sir Thomas, leaving a part of his army before Exeter,

Feb. 16.

met the royalists at Torrington, where an engagement ensued, which terminated in favor of the parliamentarians. Near 200 of Hopton's soldiers were slain, and about 500 captured. The rest were so dispersed after the battle, that their general was, for several days, almost deserted. Many of the fugitives never returned to him; and, notwithstanding all his efforts, he found it impracticable to recruit his army in a sufficient degree for enabling him to oppose the triumphant progress of the enemy. In this emergency, the prince embarked for the Scilly isles; thence, after a short stay, he repaired to Jersey; and, in the course of the summer, he took refuge in France⁵⁶.

Mar. 14.

Fairfax, intent on the improvement of his victory at Torrington, pursued the royalists into Cornwall, and brought them into so critical a situation, that lord Hopton, to avoid destruction, capitulated at Truro with the enemy, and consented to disband all his forces, under an engagement that none of them should ever act in future against the parliament⁵⁷. Thus was the western army dissolved; and only the reduction of a few garrisons remained to be achieved, to complete the submission of the flourishing counties of the west to the all-controlling power of the two houses.

56. Rushworth, part. iv. vol. i.—Clarendon.—Whitelocke.

57. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. chap. 3.—Dugdale's Short View, p. 202.—Whitelocke, p. 203.—The forces disbanded by this agreement consisted of about 4000, chiefly cavalry.

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The ruin of Hopton's army was quickly followed by the discomfiture of the only force with which the king expected to appear once more in the field. This body amounted to about 2500 men, with whom lord Astley was advancing towards the royal quarters, when Sir William Brereton and colonel Morgan met him near Stow on the Would. Though the parliamentarians were twice repulsed, they at length totally defeated their adversaries, of whom they slew near 200. Astley was made prisoner, with many of his officers, and above 1000 common soldiers. Sensible of the hopeless state of his master's affairs, the captive peer observed to the victors, that they had now done their work, and that, unless they should suffer discord to prevail among themselves, they might securely indulge in ease and recreation³⁸.

Mar. 21.

When Fairfax had reduced Exeter (which Sir John Berkeley surrendered in the spring), and had established the sway of the two houses over the west, he prepared for the reduction of Oxford, where the king remained in anxiety and suspense. Despairing of the ability of making a long resistance to the threatened siege, Charles found it expedient to retire from the storm; but he was doubtful to what quarter he should direct his course. Though some maritime towns yet adhered to him, he had no prospect of reaching them in safety, so as to take shipping for Scotland or Ireland, or for the continent. To throw himself into the hands of his English enemies, inflamed as they were against him, seemed to him an imprudent and hazardous measure; and, though he had been advised to trust to the honor and humanity of his Scottish adversaries, who did not appear so determined on his ruin as the remains of

³⁸ Whitelocke, p. 204.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i.

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the two houses were, he could not think, without reluctance, of putting himself into the power of those who hated him for his attachment to episcopacy. At the solicitations of his queen, M. de Montreuil had been sent over by the queen-regent of France to offer a mediation between the contending parties, but principally to negotiate with the Scots, and interest them in opposing the independent faction in England. This envoy found the northern covenanters unwilling to come to an accommodation with their sovereign, unless he would take the covenant, and establish the presbyterian religion in South-Britain⁵⁹; and, when he requested them to afford their protection to Charles, he could only procure general promises, though the proposal of his retiring to their camp was very agreeable to them, as it would give them an opportunity of making advantageous terms with their English confederates, who, having sufficiently profited by their aid, had begun to treat them with disrespect. After some deliberation, Charles followed the advice of the French minister, when the approach of the army of Fairfax rendered it necessary to adopt some decisive resolution. Accompanied by a divine of the name of Hudson, and by John Ashburnham, an officer of his household, to whom he rode as servant, he quitted Oxford, and went by a circuitous *route* to Newark, which had been for some weeks besieged by the Scots under the earl of Leven, in concert with an English army under Pointz⁶⁰.

Apr. 27.

When the king's departure from Oxford was intimated to the two houses, they denounced the punishment of treason against every one who should harbour or conceal him, or know of his concealment, and not

59. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i.

60. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. chap. 3.—Clarendon, book x.—Sir Edward Walker, p. 153.

reveal

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reveal his situation to them ⁶¹. Their doubts with regard to the place of his retreat were quickly removed by the information of his arrival in the Scottish camp before Newark. This intelligence did not altogether please them; and they had some thoughts of commanding Fairfax to desist from his attempt upon Oxford, and march with speed to Newark, that he might deprive the Scots of that advantage which they promised to themselves from the possession of the royal person; but they were diverted from that intention by the representations of the Scottish commissioners resident in the metropolis, who assured them that all their orders would meet with an implicit obedience from the army of their countrymen.

Having presented himself before the Scottish general, the king was treated with exterior respect; but he soon found himself a prisoner. Few of his friends could gain permission to confer with him; and he was deprived of the free exercise of his will. Lord Belasyse, the governor of Newark, now received the royal command for the surrender of that town to the besiegers; and the king was then conducted by the Scots to Newcastle, to the great discontent of their English allies ⁶².

May 5;

Some disputes occurred between the lords and commons with regard to the disposal of the king's person. The latter voted that the Scots should be desired to give him up, and that he should be confined in the castle of Warwick; but the former refused to concur in either of these votes. The commons, incensed at this refusal, threatened that they would dispense with the assent of the peers; but it does not appear from the journals, that they executed this menace in the present

61. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 267.
part iv. vol. i.—Clarendon, book x.

62. Rushworth,

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instance; and, if they did, the Scots declined a compliance with their requisition.

Eager to derive advantage from the king's captivity, the Scots required him (and he was in no condition to refuse) to issue orders to Montrose and his other northern friends, for the speedy dismissal of their troops, and the surrender of all fortresses which they held for him, on the offer of honorable conditions from the enemy. He was also constrained to issue a similar order to his adherents in England and Wales. From a difficulty of obtaining such terms as they wished, or from a spirited neglect of such orders as they knew to have been extorted from Charles by his adversaries, some of his garrisons made a resolute defence, particularly those of Pendennis, Ragland, Denbigh, Aber-conway, Holt, and Harlech, the last of which did not surrender till the spring of the following year ⁶³.

July 24. While the king remained at Newcastle, propositions for peace were again presented to him, tending, as before, to the ruin of his authority, and the destruction of his principal friends. On account of the great importance of these articles, he desired permission to repair to London, that a full discussion might take place; declaring, that, though he never would agree to such proposals as were destructive of his just power, he would cheerfully comply with every demand which should appear to be calculated for the peace and prosperity of his people. But the two houses would not consent to a treaty: they insisted on his assent to all their demands, without that preparatory deliberation which the different points required. To such arrogant claims he could not submit; and these

⁶³. Rushworth.—Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

propositions were therefore as fruitless as the preceding ones ⁶⁴.

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Negotiations were now carried on between the English and Scots for the surrender of the royal prisoner into the hands of the former. Though the latter disclaimed the idea of putting their sovereign to sale, it is sufficiently clear that they were guilty of that infamous act, as they found the two houses unwilling to satisfy them in point of arrears unless Charles should be delivered up. It was agreed, that 400,000 pounds should be paid to them by way of final settlement, and that they should receive a moiety of that sum before the departure of their army out of England ⁶⁵. Dec. 23.

The stipulated sum being paid, the king was meanly surrendered by the Scots to his inveterate enemies. The earl of Pembroke, and other commissioners deputed by the English parliament, received the unfortunate Charles, and conducted him to Holdenby (or Holmby) house, in Northamptonshire; a mansion belonging to himself. Here he was indulged in those sports and exercises which were most agreeable to him: but he was deprived of the society of his friends; attended by no domestics but those of parliamentary appointment; harassed by presbyterian ministers, whom the two houses had substituted for his own chaplains; and excluded from all hopes of recovering any part of his authority, except by the prevalence of dissension among his enemies ⁶⁶. A. D.
1647.
Jan. 23.

64. Clarendon, book x.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. chap. 10.

65. Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 236.

66. Clarendon, book x.—

Bishop Guthry's Memoirs.

C H A P. XIII.

Diffensions arise between the popular army and the parliament.—The king is seized by the former.—Cromwell and Fairfax tyrannise over the parliament.—Several attempts are made, but without effect, for the king's re-establishment.—Cromwell defeats an army of Scottish royalists under the duke of Hamilton.—He purges the house of commons of all who were inclined to favor the king.—The remaining members, in concert with the army, bring Charles to a trial.—Sentence of death is pronounced against him;—and he is beheaded.—A sketch of his character.

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THOUGH the success of the parliamentary arms had restored peace to the nation, perfect tranquillity was not the consequence. The animosities of faction, which had been repressed by the continuance of the war, now burst forth between the presbyterians and the independents. The majority of the two houses were of the former party; but the support of the army soon enabled the minority to triumph over all opposition.

As that ample military establishment which the war had required was no longer necessary, the presbyterians proposed the immediate reduction of it; a measure to which they were also encouraged by a desire of crushing the independent faction. In the lower house, by a majority of only two, they voted a diminution of the number of the cavalry; and, by a superiority of ten, they passed a vote for the continuance of such infantry only as should be sufficient for a few garrisons. Sensible of the subserviency of Fairfax to

Crom-

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Cromwell, whose bold and enterprising character rendered him an object of dread, they endeavoured to divest the former of an authority which he exercised according to the dictates of an ambitious incendiary: but, after a long debate, the independents, strengthened by the aid of some presbyterians who had a high regard for the merits of the general, carried the question in his favor. It was afterwards moved, that no member should enjoy any command under Sir Thomas; and this motion met with success. It was also resolved, that a considerable part of the army should be sent over to Ireland, to quell the catholics, who had renounced the late peace, and to reduce that kingdom under the sway of the English parliament¹.

The inordinate ambition of Cromwell prompted him to exert all his art and address to prevent the accomplishment of the views of the presbyterians. Taking advantage of that discontent which had arisen among the troops, from the detention of their arrears, he inflamed them against the parliament, by representing it as the intention of that assembly to disband them without the remainder of their stipends, or to banish them into the ravaged districts of Ireland, where their pay and subsistence would be casual and precarious. By these and other insinuations, he so encouraged the malcontent spirit of the army, as to produce among the majority a determination of opposing the intentions of the two houses. Under his auspices, a petition was prepared in the name of the officers and their men, desiring that their arrears might be speedily paid, that they might not be compelled to serve out of the kingdom, that an ordinance should pass to indemnify them for the illegal acts which they had committed during

1. Whitelocke, p. 242, 243.—Parl. Hist. vol. xv.

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the war, and that some provision should be made for their maimed brethren, as well as for the widows and children of those who had been slain, besides a compensation to such as had been injured by losses or imprisonment for their adherence to the parliament. Hearing that such a measure was in agitation, the two houses were highly incensed; and, in a printed declaration, which they ordered to be circulated among the forces, they stigmatised the promoters of the petition as enemies of the state, and menaced them with the severe effects of their displeasure. Fairfax, being directed to suppress it, promised a ready compliance, and sent five of his officers to Westminster, to answer for their conduct in this affair; but they disclaimed all concurrence in it, and were therefore dismissed with a desire that they would oppose every effort which might be made to promote sedition in the army².

Alarmed at the spirit of the soldiery, the parliament endeavoured to provide for the payment of the arrears due to that body, and deputed a committee to apply to the citizens of London for a loan of 200,000*l.* partly for that purpose, and partly for the service of Ireland. But the inadequacy of that proportion which was destined for the troops in England, and the tardiness with which the money was raised, furnished Cromwell with an opportunity of propagating, in an augmented degree, the acrimony of discontent. Inflammatory papers were circulated by his partisans; and no arts were neglected which might widen the breach between the army and the two houses. To put themselves more on a par with the latter, and to give an air of deliberation and regularity to the proceedings of the confederacy,

2. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. — Parl. Hist. vol. xv.

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the troops, at the instigation of Cromwell and Ireton, formed an upper and a lower assembly. The first consisted of the principal officers; the other, of subalterns and privates, chosen out of each regiment as representatives of the army, under the title of *agitators* *. This military senate not only discussed every point which related to the army, but deliberated also on the mode of settling the nation, and on the important objects of civil and religious liberty ³.

Parliamentary delegates had been sent to Saffron-Walden (the present station of the army), to confer with the officers on the choice of regiments for the Irish war. The majority testified a reluctance to that service; and the commissioners, after fruitless conferences, returned to their employers. Another deputation being sent to the head-quarters, many officers and privates were prevailed on to accept such terms as were proposed for the Hibernian expedition; but the rest objected to the conditions, refused to engage, and threw out reproaches against those who had consented ⁴.

The agitators having addressed a letter to the chief officers of the army, complaining in strong terms of the sinister designs of their enemies, and requiring the speedy grant of their just demands, a copy of it was produced before the commons by major-general Skippon; and the house immediately examined the three soldiers who had brought it from the army. Some of the members proposed that these messengers should be committed to the Tower; but, more moderate counsels prevailing, they were dismissed with a slight reproof. Several votes were then passed for the prevention of disorder in the army; and, by a strange imprudence,

Apr. 30.

* Called *adjutors* by some writers.

3. Clarendon, book x.—Memoirs of Denzil lord Holles.

4. Whitelocke.—Ludl.w.—Holles.

Cromwell.

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Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, and Skippon, were ordered to hasten to the camp, and intimate to the soldiers that it was the intention of parliament to comply with their reasonable requests⁵. Cromwell, while he affected a desire of subduing the licentious and refractory spirit of the army, now renewed his intrigues for confirming those seditious inclinations which the arts of himself and his creatures had excited.

Having voted a full indemnity to the soldiers, and ordered the payment of a small part of their arrears, the two houses prepared for the accomplishment of their purpose of disbanding the superfluous regiments. They sent to the general a copy of their votes on the subject, and appointed a committee to assist him in the execution of their will. The votes being communicated to the army, the superior council remonstrated against them, as unsatisfactory; and the agitators petitioned Fairfax not to suffer them to be disbanded till their grievances should have been redressed⁶.

While these dissensions prevailed, the king was waiting the effects of a message which he had sent to the parliament in recommendation of a treaty. Apprehensive of an agreement between him and the presbyterians, the independents resolved to make an attempt for the seizure of his person, the possession of which, they thought, would enable them to triumph over their opponents. One Joyce, a cornet, being selected by Cromwell for the execution of this enterprise, appeared at Holdenby with a party of horse; and, as he did not meet with any opposition from the guards whom the parliament had placed at that station, he carried off his sovereign to the army. Fairfax, to whom

June 4.

5. Whitelocke, p. 249.—Ludlow, vol. i.

6. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. chap. 14.—Whitelocke, p. 252.

this

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this scheme had not been communicated, signified his displeasure on the occasion; but he was soon appeased by the declarations of Cromwell and Ireton, importing that they had received intimation of a resolution formed by the presbyterians, to convey his majesty to London, which they had thought proper to prevent by directing Joyce to bring him to the army⁷.

The presbyterian leaders, being at length sensible of the artful hypocrisy and mischievous ambition of Cromwell, were inclined to check his career by an act of spirit; and it was their intention to bring a charge against him on his next appearance in the house, and order him to be committed to the Tower⁸. He had returned to London after his journey to the camp, and had endeavoured, by the report which he made to the commons, to delude them into a favorable opinion of his zeal and fidelity in their service, and of his desire of quelling that seditious disobedience which they had manifested to their employers. His constant attendance, since his return, gave his adversaries a hope of executing their scheme; but, either from a suspicion which he had conceived of their purpose, or from a wish of expediting his own projects, he hastened to the military quarters, where he was received with general acclamations.

The intelligence of the seizure of the king struck the two houses with consternation. In the hopes of pacifying the malcontents, they quickly voted, that the forces should receive their whole arrears, on their disbanding or engaging for Ireland; that the commissioned officers should be gratified with the addition of a month's pay; and that the declaration which had been

7. Clarendon, book x.—Thurloc's State-Papers, vol. i. p. 94, 95.—
Memorials of Thomas lord Fairfax.

8. Clarendon, book x.

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June 10.

emitted against the army should be expunged from the journals. The earl of Nottingham and other commissioners were sent to the camp, to communicate these resolutions, and dispose the minds of the soldiery to obedience and submission. A rendezvous being appointed at Triploe-heath, near Royston, the votes were read to the army; but, the intrigues of Oliver's faction prevented them from receiving the approbation of that body⁹.

Had the earl of Essex survived, the independents would probably have found great difficulty in the execution of their bold schemes. But that nobleman had died in the preceding year, to the great satisfaction of Cromwell, who dreaded the earl's interference for the promotion of an accommodation with the king. Essex was a man of courage, honor, and patriotism; and it is supposed that he had formed an intention of exerting himself for the support of the constitution of his country, against which, he foresaw, violent blows would be aimed by the ambitious Oliver and his factious partisans. His reputation and popularity would have rendered him an useful assistant to the presbyterian party, in the present critical conjuncture; and, though he might not have completely triumphed over the more sagacious and politic Cromwell, he would perhaps have repressed the efforts of that leader, and have circumscribed his attempts within such limits as would not have contented his aspiring mind.

Encouraged by the dejection of the presbyterians, Cromwell resolved to lead the subservient general and his army towards the capital. On the day of the rendezvous, he procured the concurrence of Fairfax and the principal officers in an epistle to the corporation of

⁹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. chap. xv.

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1647.

London, in which, after a vindication of their views, purporting that they only wished for the satisfaction of their just demands, the humiliation of their enemies, and the settlement of general liberty, they denounced ruin to the city, if the inhabitants should presume to take arms against them. Regardless of a prohibition from the parliament, Fairfax and Cromwell now conducted their forces to St. Alban's, where they published a declaration of their demands. They required that all delinquents and corrupt members should be expelled from parliament; that due limits might be assigned for the continuance of this and future parliaments; that a speedy reform should be made in the representation; that the powers delegated by the two houses to provincial committees, should be diminished; that an account should be given of the appropriation of the vast sums which had been levied on the people; and that, after some sacrifices to public justice, a general act of oblivion should pass. They then adduced several articles of charge against eleven members of the lower house¹⁰, and desired that they might be immediately suspended from their parliamentary functions. These were the most considerable persons of the presbyterian faction; and they were now accused of having endeavoured to subvert the liberties of the people, of having propagated calumnious suggestions against the army, and meditated a re-kindling of the flames of civil war¹¹.

So intimidated were the two houses by the resolute behaviour of the army, that, though they had lately issued orders for levying forces for their defence, they now discontinued their preparations, and thought only

10. Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapylton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, major-general Edward Maffey, John Glynne (recorder of London), colonel Walter Long, colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony Nicoll.

11. Parl. Hist. vol. xv.

A. D.
1647.

of submitting to that formidable power which opposed them. By such pusillanimity, they encouraged the insolence of the soldiery, and taught them to rise in their demands.

The king, in the mean while, found his situation less disagreeable than when he had been under the custody of the parliament. The army indulged him with greater liberty; his friends were permitted to visit him; some of his former chaplains were allowed to give him a regular attendance; and he was treated by the general and his officers with the most respectful politeness. The two houses voted that he should be removed to Richmond; but no regard was paid to this vote by the present possessors of his person, who were conscious of the advantage which they derived from his presence. Cromwell and Ireton, having commenced a negotiation with him, had offered more favorable terms than the presbyterians were willing to grant him¹²; and some writers have supposed that they were sincere on this occasion; but it is not very probable that those who had promoted the removal of the earl of Essex, and such other officers as wished for a reasonable accommodation with the king, were really inclined to close with him on any terms except those of a very harsh complexion. Oliver and his partisans had brought forward the self-denying ordinance, and the new model of the army, for the purpose of accelerating the ruin of Charles, to which, they thought, the presbyterians were not sufficiently inclined. Their triumph over the royal party would rather stimulate their ambitious views, than dispose them to favor, by honorable conditions, their humbled sovereign. We may therefore conclude, that Cromwell and his son-in-law intended only to amuse

12. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 95.—Burnet's Hamilton, p. 316.

the king, and deprive their adversaries of an opportunity of effecting a reconciliation with him on their own terms ; and that nothing but a critical emergency, arising from the prospect of the prevalence of the presbyterians in the present contest, would ever have induced those aspiring leaders, who fought only to aggrandise themselves on the ruins of royalty, to consent to the restoration of Charles to any part of his former power.

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1647.

As the presbyterians were unwilling to deprive themselves of the services of their leaders, they were not very forward in complying with the demand for the suspension of the eleven accused members. Their delay produced a strong remonstrance from the army, insisting, among other points, on the immediate sequestration of those individuals. To prevent the danger which might arise from their continuance in the house, Holles and his associates, on the approach of the army to Uxbridge, agreed to desist from their attendance ¹³.

June 26

A specific accusation being prepared, at their desire, by their military adversaries, they delivered their answer to it ; but Fairfax and Cromwell thought proper to defer the prosecution of them. They were afterwards expelled by the votes of the commons ; but, when the terrors of the army, for a short interval, had less influence on the proceedings of parliament, these votes were annulled ¹⁴.

One of the requisitions of the soldiery related to the militia of the capital, which they wished to put under the power of their partisans. The two houses submitted to this demand ; but it was opposed by a great number of the citizens, and several petitions were pre-

¹³. Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 29.—Holles's Memoirs, p. 124.

¹⁴. In June, 1648. The expulsions alluded to were in Sept. 1647, and Jan. 1648.

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sented against it. A licentious multitude, chiefly consisting of apprentices and journeymen, attended the delivery of one of these petitions ; and, by their violent importunities, that ordinance which, at the desire of the army, had been voted on this head, was revoked. As this tumult furnished a pretence for the advance of the troops to London, to chastise those rioters who had opposed their demands, and over-awed the parliamentary deliberations, the earl of Manchester and William Lenthall, speakers of the two houses, alleging the insecurity of their persons (though the late outrage had been committed by the adherents of their own party), but influenced, in reality, by a dread of the independent faction, which, they foresaw, would obtain a complete triumph, retired to the army, accompanied by many of the friends as well as enemies of that usurping body. The officers received them with great satisfaction ; and an engagement was formed between the seceders and the soldiery, importing that they would live and die with each other ¹⁵.

Far from being discouraged by the secession of the members, the remaining part of both houses assumed a spirit which surprised their antagonists. They recalled the eleven chiefs of their party ; they ordered forces to be levied with the utmost expedition ; invited the king to a personal treaty at London ; and, by various resolutions, seemed to set the independents at defiance. But the approach of Fairfax, and the admission of one of his detachments into Southwark, struck such a panic into the citizens, that they abandoned all thoughts of defence ; and their parliamentary friends were therefore obliged to submit. The new speakers (lord Hun-

15. Clarendon, book x.—Whitelocke, p. 263—5.—Ludlow, vol. i.

don and Henry Pelham) resigned their seats to Manchester and Lenthall, who, with the other seceders, now re-appeared at Westminster, under the conduct and protection of the army. All the votes which displeased that body were annulled; and the new resolutions that were adopted by the two houses manifested their submission to those domineering warriors, who, from the situation of their servants, had become their masters ¹⁶.

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Aug. 6.

After various negotiations between the king and the chief officers of the army, as well as between him and the commissioners of the parliament, Charles seemed more inclined to accept the proposals of the former; but, having now triumphed over their opponents, they found it less necessary to disguise their sentiments. They affirmed that he had conducted himself insincerely towards them; while he, with greater reason, accused them of having endeavoured to delude him by promises which they had no intention of performing. The two houses now sent fresh propositions to him; but, as he deemed them too rigorous, he desired to be admitted to a personal treaty, that he might have an opportunity of negotiating such an agreement as might sufficiently secure the rights of his people, without the violation of his conscience and honor, or the ruin of his lawful authority. This answer was voted to be a refusal; and it was resolved that, when the propositions should have been converted into bills, another application should be made to the king for his explicit assent or dissent ¹⁷.

Sept. 7.

As the army continued to hold the parliament in subjection, the chief direction of affairs may be said to have been in the hands of Cromwell, whose influence was so great over the general and his forces. The de-

16. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. and ii.—Whitebocke.—Clarendon.

17. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii.

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mands of Fairfax, dictated by the lieutenant-general, were received with respect, and honored with acquiescence. The presbyterians, instead of that triumph which they had promised to themselves over the independents, experienced from that victorious faction the severity of resentment. Besides the expulsion of the chief commoners of their party, seven of their friends in the upper house¹⁸ were harassed with an impeachment of high treason, on pretence of their concern in the late tumult, and in the preparations for a new civil war. The chief magistrate of London, and four of the aldermen, were also accused of treason on the same ground, and committed to prison; and many other citizens were taken into custody¹⁹.

Nov. 11.

Weary of a long restraint, the king formed the resolution of attempting an escape. Having assumed a disguise, he passed through an unguarded door into the park of Hampton-court, and, having crossed the Thames, was received by three of his friends, Sir John Berkeley, colonel Legge, and Ashburnham. With these attendants he rode into Hampshire; and, not finding a ship ready to transport him over the channel, he repaired to Titchfield, the seat of the earl of Southampton, where the mother of that nobleman welcomed the fugitive prince with great cordiality. By the advice of Ashburnham (who, having acted as a negotiator between the king and Cromwell, is supposed to have been duped by the latter into an opinion of the honorable designs of the officers of the army, as if they sincerely intended to re-establish their sovereign, whom, as they pretended, they wished to rescue from the danger to which he was exposed from the malice of the agitators),

18. The earls of Suffolk, Lincoln, and Middlesex, and the barons Berkeley, Willoughby of Parham, Maynard, and Hunston.

19. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. — Whitelocke.

Charles was induced to think of the isle of Wight as a place of refuge, where he hoped for the protection of colonel Hammond, the governor, who was the nephew of one of his favorite chaplains. Ashburnham was therefore sent over to the island, with Sir John Berkeley, to treat with the colonel on the subject, without informing him of the king's present situation: but these messengers being artfully persuaded by Hammond to conduct him to the royal retreat, Charles no sooner heard of the arrival of that officer, and of his unwillingness to comply with the terms proposed to him, than he exclaimed that he was again a prisoner. Finding it useless to oppose the colonel, who had the provincial militia at his command, the king was constrained to surrender himself; and, having accompanied Hammond to the isle of Wight, he was imprisoned in the castle of Carisbroke ²⁰.

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From his new place of confinement, the unfortunate prince sent a message to the two houses, consenting to suffer the presbyterian system, which had been established in England by the ruling powers, to subsist for three years (after which interval the final settlement of the ecclesiastical government should be adjusted by him and his parliament); to divest the crown, during his life, of all authority over the militia, as well as of the power of appointing the privy counsellors and great officers of state; to give up a part of his revenues for the liquidation of the arrears due to the army; and to revoke all declarations which he had issued against his adversaries ²¹. To the proposal of these ample concessions the parliament returned no answer: so subservient were the majority of the members to the dictates of

Nov. 17.

²⁰. Clarendon, book x.—Warwick's Memoirs, p. 305, 306.

²¹. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 880—883.—Whitelocke, p. 281.

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Dec. 20.

the leaders of the independents, that offers which ought to have been deemed highly satisfactory were treated with contemptuous neglect. Charles, in the following month, renewed his application for an adjustment of all disputes ; and the two houses at length sent him four bills, to which they demanded his speedy assent. These bills purported, that the militia and the navy of England and Ireland should be subject to the disposal of the lords and commons of the former kingdom, for the space of twenty years ; that, after the expiration of that period, neither the king nor his successors should assume any power over those departments without the consent of the two houses ; that, whenever the realm should appear, to the lords and commons, to be exposed to danger, they might, after the lapse of the specified interval, resume that power by their own authority ; that all proclamations, oaths, &c. against the measures of the parliamentary party, should be annulled, as the war had been undertaken for the just and lawful defence of the two houses ; that all peerages conferred since the retreat of the lord-keeper Littleton to York with the great seal, should be declared void ; that no person who should in future be created a peer should sit or vote in parliament, without the consent of both houses ; and that those assemblies should enjoy a full power of adjournment, with regard both to time and place ²².

Though Charles was willing to accede to some of these demands, he had strong reasons for the rejection of others ; and he was particularly disgusted at the peremptory manner in which he was deprived of the liberty of discussing them with negotiators of the opposite party, and required to give a decisive assent to the

22. Parl. Hist. vol. xvi.

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demands of his enemies, without the certainty of obtaining any settlement in his own behalf. If he should consent to ratify these bills, the two houses promised to indulge him with a negotiation respecting other points, namely, the abolition of episcopacy, the alienation of ecclesiastical lands, the punishment of his adherents, &c.

The earls of Loudoun, Lauderdale, and Lanerk, commissioners from Scotland, vehemently remonstrated against the four bills, not only as having been prepared without the concurrence of the Scots (who, by the stipulations of the treaty of 1643, and the spirit of the covenant, ought to have been consulted in every particular relating to an accommodation with his majesty), but as highly derogatory to the privileges both of the king and his people. "You divest yourself and your posterity (said they, in a letter to Charles) of the militia for ever; you settle this army over yourself and your people perpetually; and, by giving leave to adjournment, you and your parliament will be carried about at the pleasure of the army, as their sub-committee²³." Charles himself entertained the same opinion; and, in the answer which he sent to the two houses, declared, that neither the desire of being freed from a tedious confinement, nor the apprehension of further misfortunes, should induce him to consent to any act before the whole settlement should be concluded²⁴. He was encouraged to this refusal of the bills by the hopes of procuring better terms in consequence of the interference of his northern subjects, with whom he was now negotiating.

Dec. 28.

The contempt which the independents had expressed for the covenant, and the efforts which they had made

23. Burnet's Hamilton, p. 327.

24. Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 483.

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to disunite the presbyterians of the two British realms, had produced much jealousy and discontent in the minds of the Scots. They bore with indignation the triumph of an army of sectaries, and were particularly disgusted at the toleration which that party intended to establish for every species of protestant dissenters. They dreaded the danger to which the person of their sovereign was exposed, from the republican fury and wild fanaticism of those who now held him in captivity; and resolved to make an attempt for his deliverance. The duke of Hamilton (whom Charles had imprisoned some years before, on suspicion of disloyalty, but who had recovered his liberty on the surrender of the place of his confinement to the parliamentary forces) exerted himself with great diligence in the royal cause; and, though the more rigid part of the presbyterians refused to promote the re-establishment of the captive monarch, unless he would take the covenant, the duke found means to unite a strong party in his interests. Many of those who, during the war, had eagerly co-operated with the king's enemies, now testified a strong inclination to prevent his destruction; and Hamilton flattered himself with the prospect of procuring the enlistment of a formidable army. He and his friends engaged to conduct into England, with great expedition, the forces which they should raise, and to employ them in the service of Charles, who, on the other hand, promised, in a secret treaty, to confirm the covenant by act of parliament for the security of it's votaries (but not to compel persons to embrace it), to suppress the independents and other sects, and establish presbyterianism in England for three years²⁵.

During these preparations in the north for the renewal of hostilities, the parliament of South-Britain,

25. Clarendon, book x.—Burnet's Hamilton.

influenced

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influenced by the independents, passed a very severe vote against the king. In a debate which was occasioned by his refusal of the four bills, opprobrious censures were thrown out against him; and he was represented as a perfidious and vindictive prince, and an incorrigible tyrant. Sir Thomas Wroth affirmed that his conduct had been such as would justify an impeachment of him; and therefore proposed that articles should be drawn up against him, and that the kingdom should be settled without him. Commissary-general Ireton declared that the people were absolved from their allegiance to a prince who had refused to protect them; and urged the house to act with firmness in the defence of liberty, and not hazard, by a passive demeanor, the loss of those advantages which had been obtained by the sword. After a variety of intemperate speeches from the independents, Cromwell rose, and, having panegyrised the valor, patriotism, and piety of the soldiery, insinuated the necessity of shaking off the yoke of an obstinate and intractable prince, in whom no confidence could be reposed: in such a measure, he observed, the troops would cordially concur with the parliament; and, if the latter should not have the spirit to act as the emergency required, the former, rather than become a prey to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whose future government would doubtless be a series of tyranny and revenge, would be compelled by despair to adopt the most violent measures ²⁶. It was then voted ²⁷, that no further addresses or applications should be made to the king; that individuals who should violate this order should be punished as traitors; and that no message from his majesty should be received. The lords concurred in these

Jan. 15.

26. History of Independency, by Clement Walker.—Clarendon.

27. By a majority of 49; the numbers being 141 and 92.

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resolutions, by which, in effect, Charles was deprived of his sovereignty. Orders were now issued for his more rigorous confinement; all his motions were strictly watched; new domestics, devoted to the will of his enemies, were placed about him; all entrance into his prison was denied to his friends; and, from these instances of inhuman malignity, as well as from reports which he had heard of sanguinary intentions against his person, he was harassed with the constant dread of assassination²⁸.

Whether the proposal of subjecting the king to a trial was first broached by Cromwell, is uncertain; but, that he had the chief concern in the accomplishment of that bold scheme, is undoubted. Some of his advocates have pretended, that he was less impelled to that measure by his own ambition, than by the strong resentment and invincible prejudices of the army against Charles, and by the republican zeal of the *levellers* (for such was the denomination of a party which had lately sprung up among the independents, and recommended a perfect equality among mankind); and that he would have promoted the re-establishment of the king, had not the reproaches and menaces of the agitators, who had adopted the principles of this new party, deterred him from continuing his negotiations with Charles. Even some of his enemies have sanctioned these opinions; and it is probable, that, notwithstanding all his interest among the soldiers, their sentiments and determinations had some influence over him. Others affirm that his conviction of the king's insincerity rendered it necessary for his own safety to promote the destruction of his sovereign, to whose vengeance he might otherwise be exposed; but this is a weak apology for his concern in the sanguinary proceedings which were now

28. Clarendon, book x.

meditated

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meditated against the royal prisoner. Having quelled, by the decisive vigor of his operations, a mutiny of the levellers, who had begun to disregard the authority of their officers, and to propagate their licentious wishes for the ruin of all subordination, he held a military council at Windsor, in which it was resolved, under the mask of religion and patriotism, with which this daring hypocrite and his associates covered their ambitious projects, that, as soon as an opportunity should offer itself, the unhappy monarch should be arraigned at the tribunal of democracy, and be capitally punished as a violator of the rights of the people ²⁹.

To prepare the public for the intended blow, the ruling faction made a new attempt for the ruin of the king's reputation, that the murderous scheme might be the less opposed, and his fate might be the less lamented. A declaration was voted by way of justification of the late resolutions against all addressees; and it was industriously circulated through the kingdom. It exceeded, in asperity and virulence, every parliamentary publication which this turbulent reign had produced. This malignant paper was answered by the royal party; and its extreme acrimony rather excited the public indignation against the authors than against the object of it ³⁰.

The oppressions exercised by the two houses, particularly in point of taxation, had long given a general disgust, which had been increased by the reports that were propagated of gross acts of peculation, committed by those who had the management of the public money; for the independents and presbyterians had united in one point, having connived at the rapine of each other, in sharing the spoils of a deluded nation ³¹. The bur-

29. Id. *ibid.*—Ludlow, vol. i.

30. Clarendon, book x.—Parl. Hist. vol. xvii.

31. Walker's History of Independency.

then

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then of a standing army after the termination of the war, the disgrace of submitting to military sway, and the prospect of a tyrannical republic, inflamed the popular discontent. The royalists, having severely suffered in their property by the policy and the vengeance of their adversaries, observed with satisfaction the symptoms of public displeasure, and flattered themselves with the hopes of forming a strong party in favor of Charles, even among those who had formerly opposed him. Associations were formed in various counties, for the promotion of the royal interests; and the expectation of an army from North-Britain animated the exertions of the king's southern adherents. But the attempts that were made on this occasion were so imprudently conducted, without sufficient concert or deliberation, that they only served to strengthen that authority against which they were directed.

The first insurrection was kindled in South-Wales. Major-general Laugharn³², and the colonels Powell and Poyer, who had served with reputation in the parliamentary army, refused to comply with the orders which had been issued for the dismissal of the troops under their command, and prevailed on many of them to declare for the king. Being reinforced by the loyal provincials, Poyer repulsed colonel Fleming with considerable slaughter; but, in an engagement near Cardiff, colonel Horton, with an inferior force, obtained a complete victory over Laugharn and Powell³³. Cromwell, having crossed the Severn with a strong detachment, invested Pembroke, which withstood his efforts for near two months. Powell was made prisoner at the surrender of Tenby; and, at the capitulation of Pembroke, Laugharn and Poyer were obliged to submit

32. Erroneously called *Langborne* by most of our historians.

33. Whitelocke, p. 304. - Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii.

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to the mercy of the parliament. After a long confinement, these three officers were tried and condemned by a court-martial; but, the favor of drawing lots being allowed them, Poyer alone suffered death ³⁴.

By the intrigues of the king's friends, some commotions were excited in Kent, where the insurgents put themselves under the command of an inexperienced youth, named Hales. While this leader was employed in augmenting his force, an incident occurred which greatly elevated the spirits of his party. The seamen, having imbibed the prevailing discontent, discarded vice-admiral Rainsborough and his chief officers, substituted some of the Kentish gentlemen in their place, and declared for the king; then sailing out of the Downs with ten of the parliamentary vessels, they directed their course to Helvoet-fluys, and submitted to the authority of their sovereign's second son, the duke of York (afterwards king James II.), then in his fifteenth year, who had lately escaped from the custody of the earl of Northumberland, and arrived safely in Holland. His brother, the prince of Wales, no sooner heard of the revolt of the fleet, than he set sail from France, and joined his naval countrymen, who gladly received him as their admiral ³⁵.

May 27.

Elate with this gleam of good fortune, and hoping for the co-operation of the prince, the inhabitants of Kent flocked to the banners of young Hales, who, conscious of his incapacity for military command, soon resigned his station to the earl of Norwich. In the hope of obtaining admittance into London, the revolted began their march thither; but, hearing of the approach of Sir Thomas Fairfax (now a peer of Scotland by the death of his father Ferdinand), they re-

34. Whitelocke.

35. Clarendon, book xi.

tired

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June 1.

tired in two divisions. Having pursued one of their bodies to Maidstone, Fairfax endeavoured to gain possession of the town; but he met with so gallant a resistance, that he did not succeed in his attempt till after a fierce conflict, which continued for near five hours. Above 200 of the insurgents were slain in this engagement; and 1300 were captured³⁶. Those who escaped rejoined the earl of Norwich at Rochester; and he then resumed his march towards the metropolis. At Black-heath, he was deserted by the greater part of his force, in consequence of the approach of a detachment of the enemy. Hastening with the remainder to the banks of the Thames, he passed into Essex, where, he knew, a revolt was meditated. Here he was joined by lord Capel, lord Loughborough, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle; and the followers of these royalists, added to those of the earl, formed a body of above 3000 men. They fixed their station at Colchester, where they were suddenly attacked by lord Fairfax, who had no sooner been informed of the earl's flight into Essex, than he transported the bulk of his army into that county. They gave him so warm a reception, that he was repulsed with considerable loss. He then formed a blockade about the town; and, while he remained before it, he was harassed with frequent sallies. His opponents, hoping for relief from the Scots, resolved to defend themselves with the most obstinate perseverance³⁷.

The earl of Holland, who had received a commission from the prince of Wales for levying an army against the predominant faction, intended to wait the arrival of the Scots, before the commencement of his insurrection; but the tardiness of their preparations, and

36. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii.—Parl. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 214.

37. Clarendon, book xi.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii.

his desire of relieving his friends in Essex, prompted him to take arms without further delay. He was joined at Kingston by the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Peterborough, and other persons of distinction. He had collected only an inconsiderable party of followers, when he was attacked by Sir Michael Livesey, by whom, after a short but fierce engagement, he was totally defeated. Lord Francis Villiers, brother to the duke of Buckingham, distinguished himself by his bravery on this occasion; but he was unfortunately slain. Holland fled with a small company, and was pursued to St. Neot's, where he was taken by colonel Scrope³⁸.

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July 2.

In the north of England, those royalists who ventured to take arms were headed by Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave. The former surprised Berwick; and the latter obtained possession of Carlisle. The strong castle of Pontefract was soon after taken by stratagem, under the direction of colonel Morrice. Major-general Lambert, being sent with a small army against the northern insurgents, endeavoured to bring them to an engagement; but they studiously deprived him of every opportunity of attacking them to advantage, till the arrival of their Scottish friends³⁹.

The rigid presbyterians of North-Britain, dissatisfied with the terms of the late treaty between Charles and the commissioners of that realm, which did not secure, as they wished, the permanent establishment of their religious system in England, or the general adoption of that covenant which they idolised, exerted themselves with great zeal and activity for the prevention of that assistance which the negotiators had stipulated for their sovereign. But their factious intrigues, and their furious

38. Whitelocke, p. 314, 315.—Clarendon, book xi.—Warwick's Memoirs.

39. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii.—Clarendon, book xi.

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invectives against all who were inclined to serve the unfortunate Charles, did not prevent the Scottish parliament from voting the equipment of an army for the rescue of that prince from the hands of his enemies. Their malignant practices, however, contributed to retard the military preparations, by inspiring many of their countrymen with such a reluctance to the cause, that a body of 2500 took up arms to oppose the levies; an act of sedition which exposed them to an attack from the royalists, who quickly defeated the malcontents, but derived little benefit from their victory. At length, the duke of Hamilton began his march for England, at the head of about 10,500 men ⁴⁰; less than a third part of the number which had been voted by the parliament. Being joined in Cumberland by Langdale, with near 4000 foot, and 700 horse, he advanced against Lambert, who retreated into Westmoreland. In consequence of reinforcements which he soon after received from Scotland, his army amounted to 14,000 men, exclusive of the English, as well as of 3000 Scots who had returned from Ireland under Sir George Monro. Private jealousies between Monro and the earl of Calendar, who, by the factious vehemence of his character, had gained the ascendant over Hamilton, prevented the junction of the last-mentioned *corps* with the grand army, which thus lost the service of a body of valuable troops ⁴¹.

When lieutenant-general Cromwell had quelled the insurrection in South-Wales, he directed his course to the northward, with an army which, though small, promised great achievements from the excellence of its discipline, aided by his example and the terror of

⁴⁰. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1193.

⁴¹. Burnet's Hamilton, book vi.—Clarendon, book xi.—Warwick's Memoirs.—Bp. Guthry's Memoirs

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his name. Being joined in Yorkshire by the northern forces of the parliament, he marched into Lancashire, where he soon brought the contest to a decision. Langdale, having reduced Appleby, advanced to Preston, where his troops, unsupported by the Scots, whose co-operation was prevented by the earl of Calendar, were attacked by Cromwell with near 9000 men. Notwithstanding the inferiority of his force to that of Oliver, he maintained the combat for six hours with extraordinary courage and address, which, in all probability, would have secured victory to his arms, or would at least have prevented his defeat, had the Scots sent even a single regiment to his aid. Having routed Sir Marmaduke, Cromwell assaulted a part of the Scottish army, the different bodies of which were at too great a distance from each other. Though the duke of Hamilton and his chief officers fought with gallantry, they found it necessary to retreat, not without considerable loss. Several skirmishes happened the next day, to the advantage of the parliamentary forces. On the following morning, the main body of the Scots had a fierce engagement near Warrington with their pursuers, who gained a decisive superiority over them. In this emergency, the duke was advised by Calendar to retire with his cavalry, and leave the infantry to capitulate; and this counsel was speedily adopted. Lieutenant-general Baillie having intimated to Cromwell a desire of treating, it was agreed between them, that the former, with all his officers and men, should surrender on the promise of quarter. By this capitulation, 2547 Scots (being all who remained in a body out of 10,000 foot who had marched with the duke into Lancashire, the others being either slain or taken in the engagements which we have described, or dispersed about

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about the country in a disorderly flight) were added to the copious list of Cromwell's captives ⁴².

The duke, with his cavalry, reduced to about 3000, fled to the southward, and then, altering his *route*, endeavoured to effect an escape to his own country; but being harassed by the provincial militia, and overtaken by a detachment under Lambert, he was obliged to capitulate at Uttoxeter, on no better terms than those which Baillie had obtained ⁴³. Such was the unfortunate issue of an expedition from which Charles had derived strong hopes of rescue and relief.

Aug. 28.

The ruin of the Scottish army reduced the garrison of Colchester to a despair of succour. This gallant body of royalists labored under such a want of ordinary provision, that the flesh of horses, dogs, and cats, and other disgusting food, had for some time been devoured by them with avidity. The obstinacy of Fairfax, in offering very disadvantageous terms, prompted some of the officers to propose, that a way should be opened with the sword through the ranks of the besiegers; but this proposal was rejected by the garrison. The town was at length surrendered on the following rigorous conditions: that the superior officers should submit to the mercy of their adversaries; and that the subalterns and common soldiers should receive quarter, but should become prisoners. At the instigation of Ireton, the general, with the assent of a council of war, ordered that Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne, should be immediately shot. Lucas and Lisle suffered their fate with an intrepidity which did them honor. Gascoigne, who was a Florentine, was, on further consideration, pardoned ⁴⁴.

⁴². Whitelocke, p. 327.—Clarendon, book xi.—Burnet's Hamilton, book vi.—Ludlow, vol. i.—Parl. Hist. vol. xvii.

⁴³. Burnet's Hamilton, p. 364.

⁴⁴. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. chap. 29.—Clarendon, book xi.

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For the encouragement of the royalists, the prince of Wales had cruised along the English coast with the fleet which had revolted from the parliament. He had taken some prizes of considerable value, belonging to the merchants of London ; but, with a view of ingratiating himself with the citizens, he consented to make a partial restitution to the proprietors, in consideration of the loan of 12,000 pounds for the payment of his men. An enterprize which he undertook by land, did not meet with success. A body of parliamentarians being employed in the siege of the castle of Deal, which had been seized by the Kentish insurgents, the prince sent about 900 men to attack the besiegers ; but the assailants were soon routed, near a third of their number being either slain or taken ⁴⁵. The earl of Warwick being sent out with a fleet against the prince, the latter prepared to attack him near the mouth of the Thames ; but, the wind being unfavorable for the execution of his purpose, and his provisions being nearly exhausted, he returned to Holland. Warwick afterwards appeared off the isle of Goree, where he cruised for some time, and found means to recover some of the revolted ships ⁴⁶.

The presbyterians made several attempts, during the commotions, to shake off the dominion of the army. They recalled the votes which had been fulminated against their friends by the influence of that body : they encouraged petitions from different quarters, soliciting a speedy accommodation with the king ; and they annulled the resolutions which had prohibited all addresses to or from their imprisoned sovereign. But they had not the courage to impeach their great adversary Cromwell, whose treasonable intentions against

45. Whitelocke, p. 324.—Clarendon, book xi.

46. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii.—Clarendon, book xi.

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the king and parliament were publicly flated by major Huntingdon⁴⁷. The charge being warmly opposed by the independents, no steps were taken for bringing it to issue; and the machinations of Oliver were suffered to proceed.

Sept. 18.

By the efforts of the presbyterians, a new treaty was opened with Charles. The parliamentary commissioners met him at Newport in the isle of Wight, where he combated their arguments with great ability, and displayed a strength of understanding which attracted their admiration⁴⁸. Though some of his friends were permitted by the two houses to attend him on this occasion, they were not allowed to act as negotiators; so that the whole weight of disputation rested on him; and the deputies with whom he treated were not despicable antagonists, most of them being distinguished by sagacity and knowledge. The treaty continued for ten weeks; and, notwithstanding the determined reluctance of the king to an absolute acquiescence in all the demands of the parliament, his ultimate concessions were such as none but the most obstinate bigots, or the most malignant incendiaries, could justly deem unsatisfactory. He consented to resign to the two houses the direction of the navy and militia, and the appointment of the great officers of state, both in England and Ireland, for twenty years; to give them the liberty of resuming the naval and military power at any subsequent period, when the public welfare should appear to them to be endangered; to confirm whatever had passed their great seal, and to annul what had been sanctioned by his own

47. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 94.

48. The earl of Salisbury, one of the negotiators, observed to Sir Philip Warwick, that "the king was wonderfully improved." "No" (replied the other); he was always so; but you have too late discerned it." The younger Vane, and other commissioners, likewise bore testimony to the abilities of Charles.

seal since his rupture with them; to sacrifice episcopacy to the presbyterian system for three years, after which the religious establishment should be adjusted by him and the two houses; to recall his declarations against the lords and commons, and acknowledge that they had taken arms in their own defence; to exclude his adherents from his court, and leave them to judicial inquiry, provided the ancient and established laws of the kingdom should be strictly followed in any process to which they might be subjected; besides other concessions of less moment⁴⁹.

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During the prosecution of the treaty, the army proceeded to the suppression of the various remains of insurrection. The royalists in the north of England were still bent on resistance; and, at Pontefract, Scarborough, and other towns, they gave much annoyance to their adversaries; but the latter at length prevailed. In North-Wales, also, the king's friends acted with courage and resolution; but they were obliged to yield to the efforts of major-general Mytton. In Scotland, Cromwell was employed in completing the discomfiture of the Hamiltonian party; and, with the aid of the marquis of Argyle, he easily succeeded in his views⁵⁰. He then returned in triumph to England, breathing destruction to that unhappy monarch whose life was an obstacle to the further projects of this daring upstart.

The extinction of the insurrections affording an opportunity for the execution of that sanguinary measure on which the independents had already resolved, they no longer delayed their preparations for it. In Crom-

49. Sir Edward Walker's Account of the Treaty of Newport.—Clarendon, book xi.

50. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii.—Bishop Guthry's Memoirs.—Clarendon.

A. D.
1648.
Nov. 16.

well's absence, Ireton had the management of the general and the army ; and his intrigues produced a remonstrance from that arrogant body, opposing the continuance of the negotiations with the king (who was represented in this virulent production as utterly incorrigible) ; requiring that he should be "speedily brought to justice, as the capital author of the public troubles and miseries ;" and recommending a republican form of government. When this remonstrance was presented to the commons, it was received by the presbyterians with the utmost indignation, and warmly supported by the independents. After a spirited debate, the house resolved to defer the consideration of it, not without the great discontent of the officers by whom it had been brought from the army, who threw out insolent menaces against the presbyterian members⁵¹.

Notwithstanding the bold interference of the soldiery, the treaty was still prosecuted, till the above-mentioned concessions were obtained from Charles. These would have been soon productive of an agreement between him and the parliament, had not the licentiousness of military power rapidly proceeded to the extremity of outrage. On a report of the intention of the army to carry him off, he was advised by his friends to attempt an escape, which they represented as far from being difficult ; but he alleged the impracticability of it, as well as the dishonor of violating a promise which he had made to the two houses, importing that he would not quit his present situation for twenty days after the treaty. He still thought the parliament able to protect him ; and, if the soldiery should again seize him, "they must preserve him (he said) for their own

51. Parl. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 239.

"fakes ;

fakes; for no party could secure their own interest without joining his with it ⁵²." Thus, partly by indulging delusive hopes, and partly by insisting on the obligation of a promise made at the desire of those who were incapable of protecting him (though, on other occasions, he had been less tenacious of his word), he rendered that destruction certain which perhaps he might otherwise have avoided.

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1648.

Dec. 1.

A detachment being sent by lord Fairfax into the isle of Wight, the king was removed to Hurst castle; and the general, with the bulk of his forces, advanced towards London to over-awe the deliberations of parliament. Incensed at the presumption of the army, the commons voted, that the removal of the king out of the isle of Wight was without the knowledge or consent of the two houses. They then discussed the royal concessions; and, after a debate which continued all night, not being closed before the eighth hour of the following day, it was resolved, that the answers of the king to the propositions of both houses were sufficient grounds for proceeding to the settlement of the peace of the kingdom ⁵³. The principal speakers who maintained the affirmative were, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Sir Robert Harley, Sir Symonds d'Ewes, Clement Walker, and William Prynne, that barrister who had suffered so severely before the civil war by the tyranny of the Star-chamber. The chief orators on the opposite side, in this debate, were Edmund Prideaux (whom the parliament had lately appointed solicitor-general in the room of Oliver St. John), Sir

52. Colonel Cook's Narrative, in Rushworth, part iv. p. 1344-8.

53. This question was carried without a division, after the strength of each party had been tried on another point, when 129 persons voted on the moderate side, and 83 on the other. *Journal of the Commons.*

A. D.
1648.

Thomas Wroth, and the younger Vane, whose father also supported the negative side of the question. The peers readily agreed with the commons in their approbation of the king's concessions; but the violence of the army prevented the good effects of the temperate resolutions of the parliament.

Dec. 6.

A committee of the lower house having been deputed to confer with Fairfax and his officers, who had fixed their quarters at Westminster, he suffered the members to wait several hours before he condescended to give them audience; and he then imperiously intimated to them, that the only way of preserving that friendly correspondence with the army which they professed to desire, was to comply with the remonstrance which had been lately presented. The next morning, the arbitrary intentions of the soldiery were fully manifested. Colonel Pride and other officers blockaded the house with two regiments, and seized, in the avenues, 41 of those members who were not inclined to proceed to extremities with the king⁵⁴. The speaker twice sent the serjeant at arms to demand the members who had been seized; but the officers refused to restore them. Proposals were then presented to the house in the name of the army, accusing the presbyterian party of a systematic opposition to the liberty and welfare of the public, and requiring the suspension of all who had promoted the late treaty with Charles, and approved his concessions. The apprehended members were detained in custody for some days, and a part of their number underwent a confinement of several weeks⁵⁵.

54. Rushworth, part iv. p. 1355.

55. Parl. Hist. vol. xviii.—This garbling of the house was jocularly denominated *Pride's purge*.

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1648.

On the following day, all the other members who were obnoxious to the independent faction, were secluded from the house by the soldiers; and these daring invaders of parliamentary privilege congratulated themselves and their leaders on the prospect of the speedy destruction of the king, and the establishment of republican polity. Cromwell, by whose arts this storm had been raised, now made his appearance in the house, and received the thanks of the assembly for his military services. Intimidated by him and the army, and finding the torrent irresistible, those presbyterians who had not been secluded, and even some of the independents, thought proper to discontinue their attendance; and the house sustained such a diminution, that, for some time, the number of attendant members rarely exceeded sixty. This small remnant of the representative body of the nation, obtained, for an obvious reason, the ludicrous appellation of the *rump*.

The house being thus cleared of the friends of moderation, the zealous independents quickly reversed those votes which tended to a reconciliation with the king, and gave other indications of their malignant intentions against him. In vain did the secluded members deny the validity of all proceedings which should take place during their constrained absence: their protest was declared, by the remaining members of the lower house, as well as by the over-awed peers, "a false, scandalous, and seditious paper, tending to destroy the visible and fundamental government of this kingdom;" and all who were concerned in it were pronounced incapable of sitting in parliament, or of holding any office ⁵⁶.

56. Parl. Hist. vol. xviii.

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1648.

Dec. 23.

Notwithstanding the iniquitous violence of the army, some members still remained who were unwilling to give their assent to the extraordinary resolution of bringing Charles to a trial. The remonstrance of the soldiery being debated, that article which related to the infliction of justice on the king, and other great delinquents, occasioned a warm debate. The idea of treating a sovereign as an ordinary malefactor, shocked the feelings of all who were not inflamed with the utmost rage of party, with the most extravagant bias of enthusiasm, or with the most daring impetuosity of ambition. Such a measure was therefore opposed by all except the most vehement zealots of the independent cabal; but as these now formed a strong majority in the house, it was voted that a committee of thirty-eight persons should prepare a charge against the royal prisoner, who was now brought from Hurst-castle to his palace at Windsor ⁵⁷.

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1649.
Jan. 2.

After the deliberation of a few days, the committee produced a charge, as the foundation of an ordinance for erecting a high court of justice for the trial of the king. As the few moderate members who remained among the commons found it absolutely impracticable to withstand or allay the fury of the Cromwellian faction, this ordinance quickly passed through that house; and it was then sent to the peers, accompanied with a vote, importing that, "by the fundamental laws of "this kingdom, it is treason in the king of England, "for the time being, to levy war against the parliament "and kingdom of England." From the passive tameness which the lords had generally shown during this reign, it was expected by many that they would have complied with this vote and ordinance⁵⁸ however novel

57. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii, chap. 33.—Whitelocke, p. 358.

A. D.
1649.

and surprising. But they received the intimation of the wishes of the commons with disgust and resentment; and, after some discussion, unanimously rejected both the propositions. Not discouraged by [this repulse, the commons struck out the names of those peers who had been appointed by the ordinance to act as commissioners at the trial, and resolved to put their schemes in execution without the sanction of the other assembly. Some of the members proposed, that all the lords who were present at the rejection, should be impeached of high treason, as enemies to public justice and liberty; but this violent motion was over-ruled. The following day was distinguished by three declaratory votes, replete with the true spirit of democracy. The first stated, "that the people are, under God, the original of all just power;" the second, "that the commons of England, in parliament assembled, being chosen by, and representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation;" the third, "that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the commons in parliament assembled, hath the force of a law; and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the king or house of peers be not had thereunto." Thus, by votes which (except the first) were utterly subversive of the English constitution, did the factious remnant of one branch of the legislature, in concert with an army of fanatics, pave the way for regicide and republicanism.

The ordinance being enacted into a law by democratic authority, the commissioners⁵⁹ met in the painted cham-

58. Journal of the Commons, Jan. 4.

59. These were 135 in number: the chief were, lord Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Sir Hardress Waller, lord Grey of Groby, lord Lisle, lord Monson, Sir John d'Anvers, Sir Thomas Maleverer, Sir John Bour-

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1649.

chamber; and proclamation was made by a herald, inviting the adduction of articles of charge against the king. Serjeant Bradshaw, a bold factious barrister, was invested with the dignity of president of the court; and four obscure professors of the law, Steele, Coke, Dorislaus, and Aske, were appointed managers of the charge.

Jan. 20.

The trial was opened with great formality in Westminster-hall; and the thoughts and discourse of the whole nation were employed on this interesting subject. Having been brought from Windsor on the preceding day, Charles was summoned to the bar, to answer for the crimes which were imputed to him. As soon as the guards had conducted him to the place assigned for him, the president addressed him in a short speech, intimating that the commons of England, being deeply sensible of the evils and calamities which the nation had suffered, and lamenting that sanguinary havock of which he was deemed the principal cause, had resolved to make inquisition with regard to the blood which had been shed; and, according to the debt which they owed to God, to justice, to the kingdom and themselves, and in virtue of that fundamental power which they derived from the people, other means failing through his default, had determined on bringing him to trial and judgment, and had therefore constituted that court of judicature before which he the appeared, and from which he might expect a just de-

Bourchier, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir John Barrington, Sir William Brereton, Sir Peter Wentworth, Sir William Constable, Ludlow, Lambert, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Algernon Sidney, Sir Gilbert Pickering, and Sir Peter Temple. The rest were, for the most part, men of low birth and contemptible education. The six peers who were at first nominated by the commons, but whose names were afterwards omitted, were the earls of Kent, Nottingham, Pembroke, Denbigh, and Mulgrave, and the lord Grey of Warke.

cision.

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cision. The charge was then read ; and the substance of it was, that he had formed the design of establishing an unlimited tyranny on the ruins of public liberty ; that, for the more effectual accomplishment of that design, he had levied war against the present parliament, and had thus occasioned the deaths of many thousands of his subjects ; that, after the cessation of the first civil war, he had procured a renewal of hostilities, and still encouraged the revival of those sanguinary scenes which had reduced the nation to the verge of ruin ; from which circumstances it appeared that he was “ the occasioner, author, and continuer, of those unnatural, cruel, and bloody wars, and therein guilty of all the treasons, murders, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, damages, and mischiefs to this nation, acted and committed in the said wars, or occasioned thereby ⁶⁰. ”

The king, having listened to the charge with a smile of contempt, demanded by what lawful authority he was brought thither. “ In the name of the commons of England, assembled in parliament ”, replied the president. Charles observed, that the authority of parliament had not been obtained for the present irregular proceeding, and that he should betray his trust, if he should acknowledge the jurisdiction of a tribunal so unlawfully constituted. Having repeatedly refused to plead to the charge, he was remanded into confinement. On his second appearance, he was required to give an explicit answer to the accusation ; but he still disputed the legality of the court, and denied that he was amenable to any jurisdiction upon earth. He lamented the situation of the people, exposed to the arbitrary control of illegal power, which sought the subversion of the established laws of the

60. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. chap. 34.

A. D.
1649.

realm. He was proceeding with his observations, when he was interrupted by Bradshaw, who desired him to plead without delay to the charge. In vain did the king demand the liberty of fully stating his reasons for denying the authority of the court. After some altercation between him and the president, in which the former behaved with dignity, and the latter with insolence, the court adjourned. When he was again brought to the bar, he was peremptorily required to answer, with an intimation that he should afterwards be permitted to make as ample a defence as he might think proper. With unshaken firmness he still protested against the validity of the judicature, and asserted his desire of supporting the liberties of the people against an arbitrary power which might be exerted to their ruin. He was again interrupted and insulted by Bradshaw; and his default of pleading was recorded. The court afterwards received the depositions of several witnesses with respect to his having frequently appeared in arms against the forces levied for the defence of the two houses; and, in a private consultation, it was resolved that sentence of capital condemnation should be pronounced against him. At the next meeting in the hall, he desired that he might be heard before the lords and commons; but his motion was rejected; and, after a speech from the president, in justification of these proceedings, the court adjudged, that "Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation, should be put to death by severing his head from his body⁶¹."

Jan. 27.

The numerous spectators of this solemn scene, with a few exceptions, felt a sincere compassion for the melancholy

61. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. chap. 34.—Whitelocke, p. 365—368. When the sentence was pronounced, there were 67 commissioners present,

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1649

lancholy situation to which Charles was reduced; and, while they admired the courage and magnanimity which he displayed in so alarming a crisis, they detested the iniquity of those unprincipled and factious men, who, though destitute of that national authority which alone could furnish the least sanction for so unusual a jurisdiction, presumed to sit in judgment on their sovereign.

It has been affirmed by many writers, that no community can possess the smallest right to exercise judicial cognisance over a monarch, as, according to them, his power is delegated from heaven, and is superior to all human inquisition. Others, on less superstitious grounds, are inclined to deny the existence of such a right, because the acknowledgment of it would have a bad effect on the injudicious populace, by encouraging them to that frequent and indiscriminate exercise of it which would weaken the reverence due to authority, and lead to anarchy and licentiousness. But, as government was established for the general benefit of society, for the protection of every individual, and for the prevention of those disorders which inevitably attend a state of nature, it necessarily follows, that some remedy should be allowed against the gross injustice and tyranny by which the conduct of the king or chief magistrate may be rendered subversive of the ends of civil polity. When different families, in the infancy of society, submitted to one head, for the increase of order and security, it can hardly be supposed that they would suffer that chief to assume the privilege of tyrannising over them with impunity. Though the desire of avoiding the dangers of a savage life prompted them

sent, who unanimously concurred in it. On none of the days did more than 73 attend, out of 135 who had been selected by the independent leaders for this arbitrary jurisdiction.

to

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1649.

to resign a part of that uncontrolled liberty which they before enjoyed, they certainly had no wish to sink into the extreme of slavery, but hoped to acquire that temperate freedom in which the life and property of each individual would be protected by the terrors of legal punishment, co-operating with the improved morals of a civilised community. In process of time, the chief, or those who were permitted to succeed him, might insensibly attain a greater height of power, which might at length degenerate into tyranny; and, in this case, when it became too flagrant to be patiently endured, that implied contract which, at the first rise of states, imposed on the sovereign the duty of preserving the rights of the people, would justify in the latter the boldness of remonstrance, and, subsequently, the vigor of resistance. If a prince should be so depraved as to pursue an incessant career of sanguinary and rapacious despotism, and should be so incorrigible as to leave to his subjects no prospect of taming his inordinate passions, the emergency of the case would authorise the body of the nation to bring him to justice for his repeated enormities. Had Tiberius been condemned to death by a representative convention of the Roman empire, few persons, we believe, would have lamented the execution of such a sentence on so infamous a tyrant, or have been apprehensive of ill consequences from the establishment of a precedent applicable only to the most flagitious despots. Had Caligula and Domitian, instead of falling by the poignards of private assassins, been capitally punished by a national sentence, the world would have admitted the expediency of public interposition, and have applauded the justice of the decree. But, in the case of Agis IV. king of Lacedæmon, whose chief offence was an attempt to stem the torrent of luxury which had overborne the ancient frugality

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frugality and strictness of Spartan manners, we feel a great indignation at the conduct of the Ephori, who, having tried him on a charge of misgovernment, condemned and put him to death; a fate which he did not merit. The same remark is applicable to the catastrophe of Charles, whose delinquency was far from being of that magnitude which could justify the severity exercised against him; and, if he had been guilty of the most nefarious acts of oppression and cruelty, no authority but the general will of the nation, signified by a free and full convention, could justly decree either his deposition or his death. That rule, however, was not adopted in the proceedings against this injured prince; and, if his fate had been committed to the decision of such a council, he would have been restored to the throne on certain limitations, not have been brought to the block. Even of that imperfect parliamentary assembly which, after his adherents had been driven from the legislature, prosecuted the war against him with such acrimony, a majority voted his concessions to be sufficient grounds for a reconciliation with him: how great, then, would have been the appearance in favor of his restoration, had the two houses remained on a constitutional basis! But the leaders of the independents, finding it impracticable to obtain the national concurrence in their bloody schemes, resolved to content themselves with the sanction of their own partisans, and of a mercenary army, a small and contemptible part of the nation. They therefore reduced the lower house, by the terrors of the sword, to a very diminutive proportion; treated the peers as mere ciphers, who had no right to interfere in the government; and thus, by the most iniquitous usurpation, assumed the whole power of the state. A court of judicature, erected by those who had no shadow of right by which they could justify their proceedings,

would

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1649.

would have acted in defiance of all law and justice, by presuming to arraign and condemn the meanest individual; and such unwarrantable judgment cannot fairly be deemed, even by the most zealous enemies of monarchy, less criminal, when applied to a sovereign. Hence it must be allowed, even by such as are of opinion that Charles deserved exemplary punishment, that his death was in fact a murder, being decreed and enforced by those who had no authority for the act, and who, in the whole proceeding, grossly shocked the public feelings, and testified a contemptuous disregard of the general sentiments of the people, in each of those three kingdoms which had an equal interest in the fate of this oppressed monarch. His death, therefore, was not, as some have termed it, a national crime; for the turpitude and disgrace of it rest only on the memories of those ambitious traitors and crafty incendiaries who composed the majority of the independent faction⁶².

62. In a neighbouring country, events have recently occurred, which bear some resemblance to our present subject. Lewis XVI. of France, like the unfortunate Charles, has been imprisoned, tried, condemned, and executed, by the misguided zeal of his subjects. In one respect, the rulers of the new republic of France adopted a more regular process against their degraded prince, than the English faction pursued with regard to Charles; for Lewis was arraigned before a national tribunal, formed by that democratic convention in whose hands the Gallic sovereignty is now lodged. This appearance of regularity, however, will not atone for the iniquity of that sentence which ordained his death. The delinquency of the French victim, like that of Charles, cannot justly be said to have been of that black complexion which, for the prevention of turbulence and anarchy, seems necessary as an adequate sanction to the exercise of popular jurisdiction over the person of a sovereign. We cannot, therefore, refrain from expressing our detestation of the frantic licentiousness and rancorous inhumanity of those republican upstarts, who, by the sacrifice of a mild and beneficent monarch, have outraged the feelings of every unprejudiced individual, and disgraced the French character in the eyes of every civilised and humane nation.

From

From these reflexions, which the greatness of the occasion called forth, we proceed to the narration of those transactions which followed the condemnation of Charles. Having desired that Dr. Juxon might be permitted to attend him in his preparations for death, he was gratified by his enemies in that particular; and they also complied with a request which he made for a final conference with such of his children as were in their custody; namely, the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester. During the short interval which was allowed him before the execution of his severe sentence, he employed the greater part of his time in reading, meditation, prayer, and serious conversation with his spiritual attendant, for whose integrity and virtue he had a great esteem. He reflected on his approaching fate with composure and equanimity, and displayed a fortitude which dignified his character ⁶³.

Though the report of the king's trial excited the astonishment and indignation of the continental powers, none of them took any active measures for rescuing him from his danger; and few even made intercession in his behalf. The only applications that were made proceeded from the French and the Dutch; but these were faint and fruitless. With regard to the letters addressed to the army and the commons by the eldest son and the wife of Charles, it was not to be supposed that the faction would pay any attention to them ⁶⁴.

The

63. Elench. Motuum in Angliâ, à G. Batio, M. D.

64. A remarkable offer is said to have been made by four of the king's principal friends; the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, and the earls of Southampton and Lindsey. These noblemen, according to Sir Roger Manley and some other writers, offered their own lives for the redemption of that of their sovereign; but, as this story wears an aspect of improbability, and is not mentioned by the

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Jan. 30

The fatal warrant being signed by the president of the high court, by Cromwell, Ireton, and 56 other commissioners, Charles was conducted from St. James's palace to White-hall, where a scaffold had been erected in the front of the Banqueting-house. It was his wish to have addressed the numerous assemblage of people whom the melancholy solemnity had drawn towards the spot; but, finding that they were kept at too great a distance, by the intervention of the guards of horse and foot, to have an opportunity of hearing him, he directed his observations to the few persons who appeared on the scaffold. He remarked, that he thought it his duty to vindicate himself as "an honest man, a good king, and a good Christian." All the world, he said, knew that he had not commenced the war with the two houses. That he had ever formed any intention of encroaching on their privileges, or of assuming any authority except what belonged to his station, he solemnly denied. Their commissions for levying forces were anterior to his: they had invaded his rights by wresting the militia out of his hands; and they, not he, had begun the troubles of the realm. But

chief writers of either party, we must consider it as doubtful. Hume, however, treats it as a certainty. There is another disputed circumstance relative to this period, mentioned by Clement Walker, Dr. Bate, Manley, and others, who inform us, that proposals were made to Charles by the officers, for restoring him to royalty, if he would consent to their demands, which were such as would have established a stratocracy, or system of military despotism, to the ruin of the privileges both of the king and the people. If such an offer was made to him, he rejected it; and, indeed, he himself alluded to a proposition of that kind in his speech on the scaffold, where, according to Whitelocke and Rushworth, he declared, that, "if he would have given way to an arbitrary course, to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, he needed not to have come thither; and that, therefore, he was the martyr of the people."

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Whereas Charles Steuart King of England is a
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~~Do Collonell Francis Hacker Colouell Gynckle~~
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The Mautewer



Jo: Bradshawe



Tho: Grey



Cromwell



Edw. Whalley



Court of Justice for the trying and indyng of Charles
of England January xxvth Anno Dni 1648. /

is and standeth convicted attainted and condemned of high treason
and day last^{was} pronounced against him by this Court to be putt to death by the
execution yet remayneth to be done These are therefore to will and
in the open Streets before Whitehall upon the morrow being the Thirtieth .. day of
June of this year in the mornings and ffeve in the afternoons of the same
to be your sufficient warrant And these are to require All Officers and Souldiers
and to be assisting unto you in this service Given under our hands and

Smith

Ber. Pelham

Ri Deane

ert Harborne

Wm. Blagrave

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Harland

Dom. Little

Henry Marten

Wm. Potter

Wm. Constable

Rich Ingoldsby

Wm. Cawley

Jo Barkstead

Wm. Ewer

John Dixwell

Valentine Wauton

Symon Mayne

Tho. Horton

Jones

John Beme

Gilbert Millington

Offleewood

Thurmond

Robt. Bulmer

Will. Fay

Anth. Hapley

Che. Norton

Tho. Challoner

Tho. Wogan

John Dean

Gregory Clement

Jo. Downes

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the chief blame was imputable to those evil instruments who had artfully fomented the rising jealousies between him and his parliament. His fate (he continued), however innocent he was of the delinquency with which he was charged, was an effect of the just judgment of God, who suffered him, for an unjust sentence to which he had given way against the earl of Strafford, to be now punished in return by a sentence equally unjust. He expressed his forgiveness for the world in general, and for the authors of his death in particular. He hoped that the latter would repent of their criminality, and pursue the right way to the establishment of public peace. Hitherto, he observed, they had acted as mere conquerors, and, therefore, as robbers; but their enterprises would not be attended with final success, unless they should adjust, by a national synod, the disordered state of the church, restore the crown to its constitutional authority, and secure the rights of the people, whose liberty consisted in regularity of government (without having a personal and active share in it), and in the prevalence of those laws which were calculated for the defence of their lives and properties. He concluded his harangue with declaring that he died a Christian according to the profession of the church of England. After a short conference with Juxon on the consolatory circumstance of his hastening from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, he delivered his George to the prelate, emphatically pronouncing the word *remember*⁶⁵; then calmly reclining his neck on the block, he employed some mo-

⁶⁵ Juxon, when questioned by the officers with regard to the king's application of this expression, answered that it was intended by way of enforcing the recollection of a charge which he had before given him, to impress on the mind of young Charles the propriety of forgiving the enemies of his father.

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ments in prayer ; and stretching forth his hands by way of signal, he was decapitated at one stroke ⁶⁶.

For some time before the execution of this prince, the people had been lulled, as it were, into a listless stupor. The easy suppression of the late insurrections deterred them from rising in his favor ; the terrors of an army of veterans hung over their heads ; and, from the renewed efforts of loyalty, they apprehended only the acceleration of their sovereign's fate. The superstitious were inclined to entertain dismal apprehensions lest the judgment of the Omnipotent should fall on the inhabitants of that country in which his supposed viceroy should be put to death ; while the more rational part of the community either earnestly hoped that the ruling faction might relent, or lamented the hapless situation of Charles, and reflected on the rigors and calamities which the continued sway of his oppressors might produce. The grief of the spectators of the bloody act displayed itself in tears, in looks of horror, in expressions of pity, of amazement, and of indignation.

As, in our history of this important reign, we have exceeded the proportional limits of our plan, the very frequent occasions on which we have described the conduct and proceedings of Charles, render it unne-

66. Whitelocke, p. 369, 370.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1429, 1430.—From an apprehension that Charles might refuse to submit to the will of his enemies, they had fixed staples of iron, and prepared cords for dragging his neck to the block ; precautions which drew from him a contemptuous smile. *Warwick's Memoirs*.

The royal corpse was exposed for some days to the inspection of the public, in an apartment at White-hall. After being embalmed, it was interred in St. George's chapel at Windsor, the care of the funeral being assigned to the duke of Richmond, who was precluded, however, from suffering the expences to exceed the sum of 500 pounds.

Rushworth.

cessary

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cessary to extend, to any great length, our final remarks on his character. Though many portraits have been drawn of him, they have, in general, been delineated by the hand of party, and have therefore either been caricatures, or have exhibited too flattering a representation. Each of these extremes we shall endeavour to avoid.

The accomplishments which this monarch possessed were numerous and respectable. He had a competent acquaintance with the *belles lettres*; was conversant in many of the sciences; was a good judge of the polite arts; was far from being deficient in the knowledge of the principal mechanic arts; excelled in argument and disputation; had a talent for literary composition; and, in short, was qualified, by his abilities and attainments, to adorn and ennoble society. His private virtues, likewise, were eminently conspicuous. He was chaste, temperate, economical, devout, mild, friendly, modest, and humane.

With respect to his sincerity and honor, strong doubts have arisen. His enemies have represented him as one in whose most solemn engagements no confidence could be placed; but this censure is palpably overcharged, though we have sufficient grounds for affirming that he did not always scrupulously adhere to the dictates of good faith. Had he moved in a private sphere, he would probably, from his general regularity and strictness of deportment, have been distinguished by an adherence to his promises and declarations; but his monarchical prejudices sometimes perverted the integrity of his nature; and he seemed to think that the rules of policy, and the opposition which he met with from his parliamentary subjects, furnished some excuse for his occasional violation of his professions and agreements. These, however, are

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not the sentiments of a man of unblemished honor; and, as his repeated infractions of the petition of right, which he had so solemnly confirmed, are sufficient proofs of our assertion, without the mention of other cases which might be adduced, an easy refutation may be given to a remark of one of the panegyrist of Charles, importing, that, for reproaching this prince with a disregard of good faith, "the most malignant scrutiny of his conduct affords not any reasonable foundation."

His political maxims were too favorable to the ideas of the divine right and irresistible authority of kings. Educated at the feet of Gamaliel (as he expressed himself), he imbibed, in his earlier years, those romantic and superstitious notions of the royal prerogative which his father was so fond of inculcating, and which were not only absurd in themselves, but were particularly disgusting to that bold and liberal spirit which animated a great part of the nation at the time of his accession. Finding that the principles of liberty were so strongly prevalent, he would, if his sagacity and prudence had been unallayed by prejudice, have studiously avoided all encroachments on the privileges of his subjects; and, by thus entrenching himself within the boundaries of lawful prerogative, he would have had a better opportunity of repressing the licentiousness of the advocates of freedom, than by indulging himself in those exertions of power which inflamed the indignation of the public, and stimulated the demagogues to a wider range of design, and a greater boldness of enterprise. But, being confirmed in his high monarchical notions by the insinuations of ambitious statesmen and ecclesiastical adulators, and by the suggestions of a catholic queen, to whose counsels he was too obsequious, he neglected the rules of discretion, and, by incautious measures,

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measures, opened the way to those popular commotions which produced an intestine war, and terminated in the destruction of his own person and the subversion of the monarchy.

In the adoption of political measures, he was, sometimes, timid and indecisive ; at other times, by the prevalence of importunate advice, he was eager and precipitate. When he had given way to a rash step, he was quickly desirous of retracting it ; and, even where he had not deviated into a hasty imprudence, but had resolved on a scheme in which spirit was requisite, he had not a sufficient degree of firmness and vigor to prevent him from yielding to the pertinacity of faction or the clamors of the multitude. He was also destitute of that insinuating address and those conciliatory manners which might have been usefully employed in soothing the rage of party, and in allaying the ardor of popular zeal ⁶⁷.

67. Charles was born at Dunfermline, in Scotland, on the 19th of November, 1600. At his death, therefore, he had only entered into the eleventh week of his forty-ninth year. His reign approached to the duration of twenty-four years. By his wife Henrietta Maria, who survived him above twenty years, he had the following issue : Charles James, who died an infant : Charles, prince of Wales, afterwards king Charles II. James, duke of York, who succeeded his brother on the throne : Henry, duke of Gloucester, who died in 1660, at the age of twenty : Mary, who espoused William II. prince of Orange, and was the mother of William III. king of Great-Britain : Elizabeth, who was imprisoned by the murderers of her father, and died in her fifteenth year : Anne, who did not reach the age of four years : Catharine, who also died in her infancy ; and Henrietta Maria, who became duchess of Orleans by marrying the brother of Lewis XIV.

With regard to the person of Charles I. it appears that he was of a moderate stature ; that his limbs were of a just proportion ; that his eyes were lively, and his features pleasing ; that his complexion was pale, and his countenance saturnine ; and that his constitution, though weak in his infancy, became, by the aid of temperance and exercise, extremely vigorous and healthful in the maturity of his age.

B O O K XI.

From the DECAPITATION of CHARLES I.
to the REVOLUTION.

C H A P. I.

T H E R E P U B L I C.

Monarchical government is abolished.—Cromwell is sent over by the parliament for the reduction of Ireland;—where he meets with great success.—The Scots acknowledge the sovereignty of Charles II.—Cromwell invades their kingdom;—and obtains a great victory at Dunbar.—Charles marches into England with a Scottish army;—but is totally defeated by Cromwell at Worcester.—He escapes, through many dangers, to the continent—A naval war breaks out between the English and the Dutch.—Several engagements take place between them;—in most of which the former have the advantage.—Cromwell dissolves the long parliament by violence;—and procures sovereign authority under the title of protector.

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THE support of the army had alone enabled the independents to execute their sanguinary schemes; and, by the aid of the same formidable body, they now proceeded to the accomplishment of their ulterior projects. The murder of their sovereign not being regarded by them as a sufficient sacrifice, they resolved to immolate monarchy itself at the shrine of democracy. The ambition and rapacity of some, the fanaticism

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ticism of others, and the sober reflexions of a few, prompted them to wish for the establishment of a republic. The artful Cromwell concurred in this idea, but cherished a secret resolution of annihilating, at a favorable conjuncture, the power of the infant commonwealth.

On the day of the king's execution, the republican commons passed an act which prohibited all persons, on pain of death, from proclaiming or acknowledging "Charles Stuart, commonly called the prince of Wales," or any other individual, as king or chief magistrate of England or its dependencies. This act was immediately promulgated, with sound of trumpet, in the metropolis; and the provincial sheriffs were ordered to publish it without delay throughout England and Wales. At the same time, the late votes which had asserted the power of the people, and had attributed the national sovereignty to their representatives, were printed and dispersed ¹.

The peers, notwithstanding the contempt with which they were treated by the insolent dictators in the other house, continued to meet occasionally, that they might carry on the appearance of business. They now sent a message to the commons, intimating that they had named a committee to confer with some of the members of that house on the settlement of the government; but the messengers, after repeated attempts, were unable to procure even the privilege of admission. A debate having occurred among the commons on the expediency of taking the advice of the house of peers in the exercise of the legislative power, the question was decided in the negative ²; and that house was

1. Whitelocke, p. 370.—Parl. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 547.

2. By a majority of fifteen; the numbers being 44 and 29.

then

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then voted useleſs and dangerous, and deſerving of abolition; for which purpoſe an act was prepared. The obſequious lords patiently ſubmitted to this outrage, and thought proper to retire into the obſcurity of a private ſtation, rather than maintain a conteſt with a violent and powerful faction³.

The following day was diſtinguiſhed by a warm debate on the queſtion for the abolition of monarchy; and it was at length voted by the uſurping commons, "that it hath been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation, or the power thereof in any ſingle perſon, is unneceſſary, burthenſome, and dangerous to the liberty, ſafety, and public intereſt of the people; and therefore ought to be aboliſhed." The ſeal which they had ordered to be made before the trial of Charles was now confirmed as the great ſeal of the parliament of the commonwealth of England, and delivered to Bulſtrode Whitelocke (the hiſtorian), ſerjeant Keble, and L'Iſle, one of thoſe who had paſſed judgment on the late king. Sir Thomas Widdrington, who was named the firſt in the commiſſion, expreſſed a repugnance to the employment; and the commons, without reſenting his doubts of the legality of their authority, accepted his excuſe⁴.

For the adminiſtration of the affairs of the new republic, the commons appointed a council of ſtate, conſiſting of forty-one perſons, to whom they gave a ſeries of inſtructions. The principal members of this council were the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pem-

3. Parl. Hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 554.

4. Whitelocke, p. 372, 374. On the reverſe of the new ſeal, theſe words were inſcribed: "In the firſt year of freedom, by God's bleſſing, reſtored." Martin, the republican member for Berks, was the ad- viſer of this inſcription. All commiſſions, writs, &c. were now drawn up in the name of "the guardians of the liberty of England, by the authority of parliament."

broke,

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broke, and Salisbury; lord Grey of Wark; the chief justices Rolle and St.-John, the lord chief baron Wylde, and serjeant Bradshaw; lord Fairfax, lord Grey of Groby, Cromwell, Martin, Whitelocke, the younger Vane, and Haselrig. It was proposed that a president should be chosen for the assembly; but this motion was rejected, as too monarchical⁵.

While the commons (or the parliament, as they styled themselves) were thus employed in regulating the sovereignty which they had usurped, they did not neglect the prosecution of that vengeance which they had vowed against their chief prisoners. Having erected a new court of judicature, they ordered that the duke of Hamilton, the earls of Holland and Norwich, lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, should be tried for that active loyalty which they had displayed in the preceding year. The duke, at his arraignment, pleaded that he was an alien, and therefore was not amenable to the jurisdiction of an English tribunal; that, in the invasion of which he was accused, he had only obeyed the lawful commands of the parliament of his native kingdom; and that he had surrendered on the stipulation of quarter. But all his objections, though enforced by Hale and other able pleaders, were fruitless. The court intimated to him, that, being earl of Cambridge, he was tried as a peer of England for high treason against that realm; and that the promise of quarter, though it rescued him from military execution, did not debar the parliament from bringing him to justice by a civil sentence. He was therefore condemned to death; and the same judgment was pronounced against the other noblemen, and Sir John Owen⁶.

5. Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 12, 13.
378.—Burnet's Hamilton, book vi.

6. Whitelocke, p. 375—

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Petitions being presented to the commons for the extension of mercy to these royalists, debates and divisions ensued with regard to the fate of some of them. The votes being equal in the case of the earl of Holland, the speaker decided against him; but, when an equality appeared in that of the earl of Norwich, he turned the scale in his favor⁷. The Welsh knight was reprieved by a small majority; but Hamilton and Capel were devoted to death without a division.

March 9.

The duke was solicited by Cromwell, with fair promises, to communicate the names of the chief persons in England who had invited him to undertake his last expedition; but he disdained to redeem his life by such treachery, and was therefore left to his fate, to which he submitted with great composure. The earl of Holland, who had disgraced himself by frequent changes of party, was the next sufferer. Capel, a man of distinguished merit, both in his public and private sphere of action, was then brought to the scaffold, where his behaviour was uncommonly serene and intrepid. Cromwell had borne testimony, in the house, to the greatness of this nobleman's character, and had represented the life of a person of his courage, loyalty, industry, generosity, and influence, as incompatible with the security of the rising republic⁸.

The tranquillity of the new government was now invaded by the turbulent spirit of the agitators and the levellers, who, not finding their sentiments of equality and insubordination adopted by the rulers of the state, testified their discontent by occasional commotions. But their seditious projects were crushed by the exer-

7. Whitelocke, p. 378, 379.

8. Clarendon, book xi. Whitelocke, p. 379.—Burquet's Hamilton, book vi.

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tions of Fairfax and Cromwell; and, after some defeats, and the execution of several of their chief instigators, they submitted to the authority of the commonwealth⁹.

When the commons, and the council of state, had adjusted the government of England, and, notwithstanding the disgust and reluctance of a great part of the nation, had established their republican system, they directed their attention to the affairs of Ireland, as a dependency on the sovereignty of England. We shall first mention the principal political acts and proceedings of this year, and then relate the most memorable transactions of the Hibernian war, prosecuted under the auspices of the English commonwealth.

Though the votes for the abolition of monarchy and the peerage speedily followed the king's death, the acts founded on those resolutions were not completed till near two months had elapsed from that event. In the former of these ordinances, entitled "an act for abolishing the kingly office in England and Ireland," it was promised that as early a period should be put to the present parliament as might be consistent with the safety of the people and the preservation of the new form of government; and that due precautions should be taken for the free election of the next representative body, and for improving the constitution of such an assembly, according to that model which would most contribute to the permanent benefit of the commonwealth¹⁰. These promises were thrown out as lures to the people, rather than with any real purpose of accomplishment.

As the former statutes which related to treason did not provide for the security of the present government,

9. Whitlocke.—C. Walker's Hist. of Independency.

10. Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 61.

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the commons (who, having usurped that plenitude of power which belonged only to a regular *parliament*, and compelled the nation to submit to their authority, must in future be mentioned under that honorable appellation) enacted a new law, importing, that all who should deny their sovereignty, aim at the subversion or even the alteration of the system now adopted, promote mutiny in the army, or adhere to the "enemies of the parliament, commonwealth, or keepers of the liberty of England," should undergo the punishment of traitors. They soon after passed an act, formally declaring the English nation to be a commonwealth and a free state, which should thenceforward be governed by the representatives of the people, and by such officers as they should appoint, without a king or a house of peers.

Towards the liquidation of the debts which had been contracted by the parliament, a considerable part of the lands of the crown, as well as the personal property of the late king, including a very valuable collection of paintings and statues, were exposed to sale. For the maintenance of the army, a tax was imposed to the amount of 90,000*l. per mensem*, in addition to the other burthens with which the nation was loaded. Further progress was made in the sale of the estates of the episcopal church, and in the appropriation of a part of the produce to the support of the presbyterian establishment. Out of these and other funds, copious grants were occasionally distributed among the leaders of the ruling faction¹¹.

With a view of strengthening the foundations of the republic, the parliament voted that every member should subscribe an engagement to be "faithful to the

11. Dugdale's View of the Troubles, chap. xxxiii.—Parl. Hist. vol. xix.

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"commonwealth, as now established without a king or house of lords." The same test was imposed on all persons who enjoyed any civil, religious, or military office, throughout England, Wales, and Ireland; but such opposition was made to this unconstitutional engagement, though the refusal of it produced a disability of holding any employment, that it was never completely enforced.

When the preparations for the reduction of Ireland under the yoke of the English commonwealth were completed, Cromwell, eager for the acquisition of fresh laurels, embarked for that island. After the intrigues of the nuncio Rinuccini had occasioned a violation of the peace which the Hibernian catholics had concluded with the marquis of Ormond, this nobleman found himself destitute of resources for defending the protestants against the numerous forces which opposed them; and the late king, informed of the danger and distress of his lieutenant, (to whom he, being then a prisoner, had no opportunity of sending succours) had authorised him to deliver up his government and garrisons to the English parliament. Reinforcements were then sent over by that assembly; and colonel Jones, though baffled in some attempts, defeated the Irish with great slaughter near Trim; a victory which was soon followed by other advantages, obtained by this active warrior. Lord Inchiquin also gave the catholics a considerable defeat in Munster; and the success of the parliamentary arms struck the Irish with a general consternation, which was greatly increased by their intestine divisions. The arrogance and tyranny of the nuncio disgusted even the bigots of his own church; and a resolution was formed by some of their leaders to return to their allegiance to the king, and unite themselves with those protestants who were

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inclined to support his cause against the parliament. They sent deputies to the continent to inform young Charles of their intentions, and solicit aid from the courts of France and Spain, as well as from the pope. Ormond, who was then at the French court, was invited by the king's friends to resume his government; and lord Inchiquin promised to desert the cause of the parliament, and receive the marquis as viceroy of Ireland. After fruitless endeavours to obtain supplies from France, Ormond quitted that realm, and returned to Ireland, where he concluded (before the king's execution) a new treaty with the confederate catholics, to whom he granted the free exercise of their religion, and other indulgences. Having proclaimed Charles II. the marquis took the field, and obtained some advantages over the parliamentarians: but he received such imperfect assistance from his popish allies, that he was prevented from making that progress which his zealous loyalty induced him to desire; and a defeat which he received near Dublin proved extremely injurious to the interests of his new sovereign.

Aug. 2.

Having encamped at Rathmines, with an intention of besieging Dublin, he was surprised by a vigorous sally of the garrison of that city, which had lately received considerable supplies from England. This unexpected attack so disconcerted the royalists, that the exhortations and example of the marquis and his officers had no effect in allaying their terrors; and a complete victory attended the arms of their adversaries, who slew or captured above 4000. Colonel Jones, for his valor and conduct on this occasion, was rewarded by the English parliament with an estate of the annual value of 1000*l.*¹².

¹². Clarendon's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.—Whitelocke.—Cor's Hibernia Anglicana.—Carte's Collection of Ormond's Letters.

Cromwell, who had been appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland for three years, with very extensive powers, arrived at Dublin soon after this success of his friends, with an army of about 13000 men. His first enterprise was the siege of Drogheda, a town of considerable strength. Having made a breach, he attempted to force a passage, but was twice repulsed with great loss. When he had succeeded in the third assault, he disgraced his arms by cool barbarity; for he ordered the governor (Sir Arthur Aston), and the greater part of the garrison, to be put to the sword. This inhumanity he pretended to justify by a desire of taking vengeance for the cruelties which the papists had committed (though they formed only a part of the soldiery), and of diminishing, by the terror of such a procedure, the future effusion of blood. Above 2000 of the royalists were thus sacrificed; and the few who escaped the slaughter were transported as slaves to Barbadoes. This conquest was followed by the surrender of Dundalk, Newry, and other towns, to a detachment which Cromwell sent to the northward under colonel Venables. Oliver himself marched to the southward; and, having received the submissions of several towns in his way, besieged Wexford, of which he soon became master. Here he massacred a great part of the garrison, which consisted of catholics. He then reduced Ross; but was repulsed at Duncannon and Waterford. Proceeding into the county of Cork, he was gratified with the revolt of the principal towns; and he fixed his winter-quarters in that territory¹³.

The next campaign was opened by Cromwell with an expedition into the counties of Tipperary and Kil-

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13. Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii.—Clarendon's *Irish Rebellion*.—*Parl. Hist.* vol. xix.

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kenny, where he met with rapid success. Ormond, with an army discouraged by defeat and weakened by desertion, found himself unable to check the career of so able and fortunate a commander. The catholics were dismayed at his progress, which threatened the ruin of their party. After a series of conquests, he reduced Kilkenny, their principal seat; but, while he was engaged in the siege of Clonmell, he received peremptory orders from the parliament of England for his return to that kingdom. Having succeeded in the siege which he had commenced, he embarked at Youghall for his native country, leaving the command of the army to his son-in-law Ireton, who had been lately appointed president of Munster ¹⁴.

The recall of Cromwell was the consequence of those measures which had been taken by the Scots in favor of the eldest son of their murdered sovereign. The generality of that people had been greatly incensed at the trial and execution of Charles; and their commissioners in London had warmly remonstrated against the exercise of any jurisdiction over him. Even the rigid covenanters, who had so strenuously labored to circumscribe his power, concurred with his friends in lamenting his catastrophe, and in voting the admission of his son to the vacant throne. But the former wished to bind the prince by rigorous conditions; while the latter were only desirous of subjecting him to the ancient laws of the nation. After he had been proclaimed at Edinburgh, under the title of king Charles II. the ruling powers both in church and state sent deputies to treat with him ¹⁵.

Young Charles, after his cruise with the revolted fleet, had resided for several months in Holland, where

14. *Batii Elench. Motuum*, vol. ii.—*Hibernia Anglicana*.

15. *Batii Elench. Motuum*, vol. ii.—*Clarendon*, book xiii.

the liberality of the prince of Orange contributed, with a pension from the court of France, and with occasional loans, to the relief of his exigencies. The Scottish delegates, being introduced to him at the Hague, intimated the desire of their countrymen to establish him on the throne, with a proviso that he should embrace the covenant, and entertain no persons at his court but such as were strictly attached to that holy bond; or, in other words, that he should dismiss the true friends of his family, and be subservient to those who had annihilated the authority, and promoted the ruin, of his father. The idea of binding himself by oath to the settlement of presbyterianism in every part of his dominions, when his principles and education had estranged him from that system, gave him extreme disgust; and he conceived it to be imprudent and hazardous to put himself into the power of the party who now ruled Scotland, whose leader, the marquis of Argyle, was intimately connected with Cromwell and the other regicides. He therefore signified to the commissioners his disapprobation of the proposed conditions, and expressed his intention of joining his adherents in Ireland. To provide for the expences of his voyage, and other charges, he solicited a loan from the states-general, and made similar requests to various powers: but he met with little success in his applications. Finding the Dutch averse to his continuance among them, from their dread of the resentment of the English republic; he retired to France, where he met with a cool reception from the court. Thence he repaired to the island of Jersey, which had not yet submitted to the usurpers. Here he resided some months in obscurity, while his enemies were employed in strengthening the foundation of their commonwealth, by the sanctions of law,

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and the terrors of a standing army. Being again invited by the Scots, he began to listen to their proposals, when the great success of the parliamentarians in Ireland had induced him to relinquish his intention of visiting that realm. Having opened a treaty at Breda with the Scottish commissioners, he reluctantly acquiesced in their terms, and prepared for his northern voyage¹⁶.

The gallant marquis of Montrose, who had lived in exile since he had been ordered by the late monarch to lay down his arms, had offered his services to the young king, who granted him a commission for raising forces, and promoting his cause in North-Britain. With his usual activity and ardor, he had labored to procure supplies of men, arms, and money, from the princes of the continent; and, notwithstanding the discouragements which he met with, he had resolved to prosecute his purpose even with the very contemptible force which he was enabled to obtain. It was certainly an indiscrete and precipitate scheme, to attempt, with a small party of foreigners, to establish Charles on the throne without conditions, in opposition to the sense of that formidable confederacy which now swayed the Scottish nation. But Montrose had too much of the romantic in his nature to be deterred, by the prospect of danger, from the pursuit of any measure which his loyalty and thirst of glory had prompted him to undertake. With near 100 officers, and less than 500 common soldiers, he sailed from Germany to the Orkney islands, where he procured a reinforcement of about 1000 men. This small body he transported to the shire of Caithness; and having reduced the castle of Dunbeith, he advanced to the southward in the hope

16. Clarendon.

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of recruiting his force; but he was miserably disappointed. Few of the provincials joined him; and those few either fled, or submitted, at the first appearance of the troops that were sent against him by the parliament. He was suddenly attacked, near Taine, by a body of horse under colonel Strachan; and, though himself and his foreign warriors made a bold resistance, his adversaries obtained the victory. Aware of the rancorous hatred of the covenanters, from whom he expected a cruel revenge, he fled from the field, though severely wounded, and endeavoured, by assuming the disguise of a peasant, to elude the search of his pursuers; but he was soon betrayed into their hands, and conducted to Edinburgh. Being brought before the parliament, he was reviled with illiberal acrimony by the chancellor Loudoun, who reproached him with having violated the covenant, with having impiously rebelled against God, the king, and the kingdom, and committed many horrible murders, treasons, and enormities. He vindicated himself with a temper and dignity which exasperated rather than appeased his malignant enemies, who condemned him to suffer death on the following day. To increase the ignominy of his punishment, they decreed that he should be hanged on a gibbet of the height of thirty feet, for three hours; that his head should then be cut off, and placed on the Tolbooth; that his quarters should be exposed at the gates of Glasgow, Stirling, Dundee, and Aberdeen; and that his trunk should be buried under the gibbet without any funeral rites, unless his excommunication should be removed¹⁷.

This sentence was executed with all the inhuman exultation of low minds, over the object of their envy

May 21.

17. *Batli Elench. Motuum*, vol. ii.—Clarendon, book xii.

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and terror. The marquis sustained every indignity with patience and equanimity; and no person ever encountered the horrors of a violent death with greater firmness and intrepidity. Among the valorous spirits of those turbulent times, he shone with pre-eminent lustre. He possessed all the qualities which are requisite for the formation of a hero; courage, enterprise, fortitude, magnanimity, generosity, honor, and justice.

June.

Though the execution of Montrose gave Charles reason to expect little favor or liberality of treatment from the bigoted covenanters, he resolved to try his fortune among them. Under the escort of a small Dutch squadron, he sailed toward Scotland, accompanied by the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Lanerk (who had succeeded his brother in the dukedom of Hamilton), the earls of Cleveland, Brentford, Dunfermline, and Lauderdale, the lords Wentworth and Wilmot, and others of the British nobility and gentry. When he approached the Scottish coast, he was not suffered to disembark before he had signed the two covenants. Most of his attendants were speedily removed from his presence, by order of the ruling faction: he was excluded from all share in the government; harassed by the importunity and insolence of the ministers of the kirk; strictly watched by the creatures of the marquis of Argyle; and, though he was honored with genuflexions and other marks of exterior homage, he was rather a prisoner of state than a king¹⁸. He was greatly disgusted at this treatment; but, reflecting on the expediency of submitting to his lot, he dissimulated his chagrin, and affected to be satisfied with his situation.

¹⁸ Clarendon, book xiii.—Sir Edward Walker.

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From the connexion between Argyle and Cromwell, it has been supposed, with good reason, that, when the former, in compliance with the irresistible desire of the Scots for the recognition of the sovereignty of Charles, had reluctantly consented to that measure, he had endeavoured to prevent the establishment of that prince on the throne, by proposing such terms as he did not think would be accepted by him; and that, when he found himself disappointed in this respect, he labored to obstruct the measures that were pursued by his countrymen for assisting their new king in the acquisition of the English crown. They resolved, however, to augment their army, with a view of defending their country against the efforts of the new commonwealth, if not of invading England in behalf of Charles.

The rulers of the republic, in the mean time, had been employed in adjusting the internal affairs of the state, in suppressing occasional commotions, and in compelling the people to embrace the *engagement*. The most resolute opposer of their administration was John Lilburne, who had suffered in his youth by the severity of the Star-chamber, had served in the parliamentary army, and had so distinguished himself by his zeal for a system of equalization, that he was styled "the Coryphæus of the Levellers." For a series of libels on the new government, he was tried as a violator of the late statute of treasons; but, though the charge was fully proved, he was acquitted by the jury; a circumstance which gratified the people as much as it disgusted their rulers, who resolved, in future cases of treason, to leave offenders to the mercy of an arbitrary court of judicature, whose sentences should not depend on the verdict of a jury.

To secure the dominion of the sea, and prevent prince Rupert (who commanded those ships which had

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1650.

revolted from the parliament in 1648) from insulting the coasts, the council of state had equipped a respectable fleet, and put it under the command of Blake, who had acquired reputation in the civil war by his military services. This gallant officer blocked up Rupert for some months, in the harbour of Kinsale, in Ireland; and, when the prince at length, with the loss of some of his vessels, escaped into the open sea, Blake pursued him to the mouth of the Tagus, but was prevented by the court of Lisbon from attacking him in that river. Incensed at this check, he encountered a Brazilian fleet, captured some of the ships, burned others, and dispersed the rest. He also took several French vessels, which had presumed to molest the English. Rupert retiring to Malaga, where he destroyed some English merchant-ships, Blake commenced a fierce attack, and almost ruined the fleet of the prince, who, with his brother Maurice, sought personal refuge at the Spanish court. Maurice was afterwards shipwrecked in the West-Indies; and Rupert, with the few ships which he had been able to preserve, supported himself and his men by occasional captures of parliamentary vessels, as well as of the ships of those nations which cultivated a friendly intercourse with the new republic ¹⁹.

With a view of anticipating those hostile enterprises which Charles might be supposed to meditate against those who had excluded him from the throne of England, the parliament levied a considerable army for the invasion of North-Britain. Lord Fairfax declined the command of this army, partly from a reluctance to the commencement of hostilities against a people who were bound to the English by the ties of the covenant, and

¹⁹. Whitelocke. — Clarendon. — Thurloe's State Papers.

partly from a regret for the countenance which he had given to the iniquitous violence of the independent faction, though he had not concurred in the sacrifice of the king. His commission was therefore recalled; and Cromwell was elevated to the dignity of captain-general of all the forces of the commonwealth²⁰; an office which he had before exercised without the title.

A. D.
1650.

June 26.

When the troops were ready for their northern expedition, the parliament issued a declaration, intimating that the motives of "domination, revenge, and worldly gain," had no share in promoting this enterprise, which was intended only for the prevention of an expected invasion. This was followed by another manifesto, addressed by the army "to all that are saints, and "partakers of the faith of God's elect, in Scotland;" in which the execution of the late king, and the hostile preparations against his son, were vindicated on the grounds of justice, religion, and self-preservation²¹.

With a well-disciplined army, consisting of 5500 cavalry, and about 11,000 infantry, Cromwell entered the Scottish frontiers. In his march towards the capital, he found the country almost desolate, most of the inhabitants having retired with their provisions. He encamped near Edinburgh, and in vain endeavoured to bring the Scots to an engagement. He trusted to his fleet for necessaries; but tempestuous weather rendered it difficult to land them; and, when the stock was nearly exhausted, he retreated to Dunbar in expectation of fresh supplies. The humidity of the weather, and the ill accommodations of his men, produced disorders, which proved fatal to some, and disabled others.

July 22.

²⁰. Whitelocke, p. 446.

²¹. Parl. Hist. vol. xix.

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1650.

Before his retreat, several skirmishes happened, which were attended with various success²².

The rigid devotees of the covenant displayed that narrowness of spirit by which bigots are always actuated. Not content with excluding from their army those royalists who had never taken that bond of union, they rejected that numerous party of moderate covenanters, who had engaged with the late duke of Hamilton (two years before) in the service of the first Charles. They resolved that none but the true saints should combat in their cause; declaring "that it was better to fight their enemies with a handful of elect and godly people, than with mighty arms loaded with sin and malignancy." The young king having made his appearance in the camp, they were so alarmed at the prospect of the influence which he might acquire over the soldiery, that they insisted on his retiring without delay, and menaced him, in case of non-compliance, with a total desertion of his interests. Notwithstanding his dissimulation, they perceived that he in his heart detested their gloomy fanaticism; that he was of a gay and licentious disposition; and that, in the concessions which he had made to them, he was impelled by the necessity of his affairs, not by the real desire of adhering to his stipulations. Willing to subject him to a further test, they required that he should sign a declaration, expressing his sorrow for the misconduct of his father and the idolatry of his mother, his penitence for his own sins, his sincere zeal for the two covenants, and his firm intention of extirpating popery, superstition, idolatry, prelacy, and heresy, throughout his dominions, and of withdrawing his favor from all those who should follow his interests rather than those

²². Batii Elench. Motuum, vol. ii.—Sir Edw. Walker.—Clarendon.

of the Almighty; signifying also his rejection of the late treaty with the Irish catholics, and his revocation of all commissions granted to the enemies of the covenant. He refused, for some time, to subscribe so odious a declaration; but importunities and menaces at length extorted his assent; and it was triumphantly published by the ruling party. It was then resolved that he should do penance before the assembled people for the iniquities of himself and his family: but subsequent incidents rescued him from this indignity ²³.

A. D.
1650.

Aug. 16.

The Scottish general, David Leslie, having followed the English to Dunbar, posted his army in an advantageous situation; and, being informed of the distress of the invaders, he hoped to starve them into submission, or to reduce them to the necessity of engaging him on such terms as were calculated to ensure victory to his arms. But the enthusiasm of the ministers of the kirk disappointed his views. These fanatics pretended that the Lord had answered their devout supplications, by promising to deliver the *sectarian* army (for they considered the independents as heretics) into the hands of the covenanters. They therefore urged Leslie to give battle to the enemy; and, though such a measure was regarded by him as imprudent, their influence prevailed. Quitting his superiority of ground, he advanced towards Cromwell; and a furious conflict ensued. The English infantry, being considerably outnumbered by the Scots, were at first repulsed; but they quickly recovered from their disorder, and put their antagonists to flight. The cavalry also, after a short but warm contest, gained a decisive advantage; and a general rout of the Scots gratified the wishes of Oliver. In the battle and the pursuit, near 3000 men

Sept. 3.

²³. Sir Edw. Walker.

A. D.
1650.

were slain, and above 7000 were captured, many of whom were dismissed by the conquerors ²⁴.

The victorious general, eager to prosecute his success, marched towards the northern metropolis. Having taken possession of Leith, he, with equal facility, became master of the town of Edinburgh; but the castle, which the Scots deemed impregnable, withstood, for three months, all the efforts of the besiegers. During this siege, some remarkable letters passed between Oliver and the governor, in which the differences between the independents and the presbyterians were discussed ²⁵. But the military weapons of Cromwell were more powerful in their operation than his pen. Discouraged by his bold attempts for the reduction of the castle, the besieged thought proper to capitulate; and they received honorable terms from him ²⁶.

Dec. 24.

The English parliament received, with extraordinary satisfaction, the news of the victory at Dunbar. It was commemorated by a public thanksgiving: the colors taken from the Scots were hung up as trophies in Westminster-hall: particular acknowledgments were made to Cromwell, and general ones to his officers and soldiers; medals of gold and silver were ordered to be distributed among them; and pecuniary gratuities were conferred on the messengers who brought such agreeable intelligence. The army having been considerably diminished by sickness (for very few of the English had fallen by the sword), directions were given for fresh levies; and, as it was concluded that the people would cheerfully submit to new burthens for the effectual prosecution of a war which had been so gloriously begun, the parliament imposed a new tax of

24. Parl. Hist. vol. xix.—Whitelocke, p. 455.—Sir Edw. Walker.

25. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 158—163.

26. Batii Elench. Motuum, vol. ii.

30,000 pounds *per mensem*, in addition to the former assessment for the maintenance of the forces ²⁷.

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1650.

The covenanters were extremely mortified at the defeat which their army had suffered from "perfidious and blasphemous sectaries;" and many of them began to think that it would be expedient to relax in their rigor against the king's adherents, and form an union of the different parties against the powerful invaders. But others opposed this measure; and so violent was the spirit of party, that some even declared they would rather join Cromwell than consent to such a proposition. Charles, being still treated as a cipher, resolved to exert his endeavours for the attainment of some degree of authority; and, being assured of the services of the marquis of Huntley and other noblemen, he escaped from the custody of the ruling party, and crossed the Tay to join his friends. Sensible of the advantage of his presence, the faction invited him, with offers of augmented power, to return to Perth; and, when he had complied with their wish, he was indulged with the company of his confidential partisans, and with some share in the government ²⁸. The proposed penance was not exacted from him; and he was crowned at Scone with great solemnity.

A. D.
1651.
Jan. 1.

A parliament being convoked at Stirling, the king's interest prevailed; and it was resolved that the malignants and the moderate covenanters should be admitted into the army, after humbling themselves before the kirk for their transgression of its dictates. A numerous host was now levied; and Charles assumed the personal command of it, his chief officers being the duke of Hamilton, David Leslie, and John Middleton. The

²⁷. Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 352, 402.

²⁸. Batii E'ench. Motuum, vol. ii.—Warwick's Memoirs.—Sir Edw. Walker.

A. D.
1651.

July 20.

August.

spring and part of the summer elapsed without any action more memorable than petty sieges and skirmishes. Cromwell endeavoured to bring the enemy to a general engagement; but Charles, being strongly encamped near Stirling, thought proper to avoid the risque. At length, Oliver detached Lambert with a considerable body into the shire of Fife, where that officer defeated Sir John Brown with great slaughter. Cromwell soon after passed the frith of Forth; and, by the capture of some important towns, straitened the king's quarters, and cut off his communication with those counties from which he supplied his army with provisions. In this emergency, Charles held a council of war; and it was the opinion of the majority, that he should immediately march into England, where he might expect to obtain the aid of a considerable party. Though many of the Scots deserted him on this occasion, he resolved to make the dangerous experiment; but his arrival was so unexpected, so strong was the national animosity between the English and the Scots, and such was the active vigilance of the government in providing for the defence of the state, that few of his English friends ventured to join him²⁹.

The king's sudden march to the southward surprised and alarmed Cromwell; for, though he had a great contempt for the Scots, he was apprehensive that they would be joined by a numerous body of English, whose efforts might prove dangerous to the republic. He therefore took speedy and vigorous measures for preventing the success of the royal enterprise. He ordered Lambert to pursue the enemy with

²⁹. Batii Elench. Motuum, vol. ii.—Clarendon, book xiii.—Burnet's Hamilton, book vii.

a body of cavalry, and infest their rear with skirmishes; while Harrison, with another detachment, was employed in the like service. He himself prepared to follow with the remainder of his army, except about 6000 men, whom he left, under the command of lieutenant-general Monk, to complete the subjugation of the Scots.

A. D.
1651.

The earl of Derby, who had distinguished himself by his loyalty to the late king, now took arms in behalf of his son, by whom he was desired to exert his interest in Lancashire and Cheshire: but he met with little success in his levies; and being attacked near Wigan by colonel Robert Lilburne, he was totally routed. Though wounded, he escaped to Worcester, where Charles, after a repulse from the commandant of Shrewsbury, had fixed his quarters. Lambert had assaulted some of the king's advanced parties at Warrington, but had been obliged to retreat: he then marched into Warwickshire, where he rejoined Cromwell, who, being reinforced by new levies from various parts of England (so that his army now exceeded 35,000 men), advanced against Charles, whose forces were scarcely superior in number to a moiety of the enemy. Fierce engagements ensued on both sides of the Severn; but the royalists were at length completely vanquished, and driven from Worcester with very considerable loss. The king, whose courage was not undistinguished on this destructive day, fled from the town with a small party, while the victors were prosecuting their success with all the horrors of carnage. About 3000 men were slain on the side of Charles; but, on the part of the republic, less than 500 fell. The number of prisoners taken by the English during that and some following days, nearly amounted to
10,000,

Aug. 25.

Sept. 3.

A. D.
1651.

10,000, among whom were many persons of distinction, particularly the duke of Hamilton (who soon after died of a wound in the leg), the earls of Derby, Cleveland, Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnwath, and Kelly, and the generals Leslie, Middleton, and Masséy. Of the inferior captives, many perished in confinement; many were sent as slaves to the American plantations; and others were transported to Africa³⁰.

The zealous attachment of the earl of Derby to the royal cause prompted the governing party to sacrifice him at the shrine of republicanism. By an arbitrary court of judicature, he was condemned as a traitor and a rebel, and beheaded. Sir Timothy Featherstonhaugh, and captain Benbow, suffered death on the same charge; and Middleton and Masséy were devoted by Cromwell to a similar fate, which, however, they prevented by escaping from their confinement³¹.

A series of difficulties and dangers attended the escape of the vanquished king from the battle of Worcester. A detail of all his adventures would be too minute for a general history, to which a summary mention of the chief circumstances will be better adapted. After wandering for many hours in the night, he received protection at an ancient nunnery near Tonge-castle, on the eastern borders of Shropshire. In a neighbouring wood called Boscobel, he passed a day amidst the branches of a large oak, where he overheard the conversation of some parliamentary soldiers, who were eagerly employed in the pursuit of him and other fugitives. In the vicinity of this spot, he remained several days, experiencing the distinguished zeal and fidelity of five brothers of the name of Pen-

30. Whitelocke.—Elench. Motuum, vol. ii.—Clarendon, book xiii.—Ludlow, vol. i.—Parl. Hist. vol. xx.

31. Clarendon, book xiii.—Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 72.

A. D.
1651.

derell, who were unmoved either by the fear of death, which the parliament had denounced against all who should protect or conceal the king, or by the hope of that reward which had been promised to his betrayers. Having failed in an attempt to escape into Wales, he went towards Bristol in the disguise of a servant; but finding that no vessel would sail from that port to France or Spain for some weeks, he directed his course to the house of colonel Wyndham, near Sherbourne. At this habitation he was long sheltered, endeavouring in the interim to procure a conveyance to France. At length, by the exertions of trusty friends, he found an opportunity of embarking at Shoreham; and he arrived in safety at Fescamp in Normandy, whence he proceeded to Paris, where he was gratified with a monthly allowance of 6000 livres from his cousin Lewis XIV. Between the day of his flight from Worcester, and that of his embarkation, forty two days elapsed; during which time he was in hourly danger of falling into the hands of those who thirsted for his blood. He had sometimes remained whole days in barns and out-houses, or in secret receptacles which had been used for the concealment of delinquents. He had occasionally passed through troops of the enemy, and had evinced great composure in those hazardous moments. He had been discovered, notwithstanding his disguise, by many individuals, but owed his preservation to that sense of honor and loyalty which disdained the idea of betraying an unfortunate prince ³².

As soon as Cromwell had triumphed over the royalists at Worcester, he dismantled that city, and pre-

32. Elench. Motuum, vol. ii.—Clarendon, book xiii.—Heath's Chronicle.

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1651.

pared for his return to the parliament. That assembly had sent a deputation to compliment him on his victory, and thank him for his indefatigable exertions in the service of the republic. The deputies met him at Aylesbury, where he presented each of them with two Scottish captives and a horse. On his approach to the metropolis, he was met by the speaker, the lord-president Bradshaw³³, and many of the heads of the commonwealth, who hailed him as the gallant defender of the state, and as the annihilator of the power of their royal antagonist. Elate with his success, he now began to disclose the ultimate aims of his ambition. Having summoned the leaders of the administration to a conference, with a view of founding their inclinations, he found that some were inclined to a continuance of the republican system, while others were disposed to prefer a mixed monarchy : but none of them would take his hints for investing himself with royal power. He therefore deferred the execution of his aspiring schemes, contenting himself with the great authority and influence which he at present enjoyed, and with the additional grants which he now received from his employers.

The victory at Worcester was not the only success which attended the arms of the parliament at this period. Monk proceeded with rapid strides to the completion of the conquest of Scotland. Having invested the strong castle of Stirling, in which were preserved the *regalia* and the archives of that realm, he reduced it in a few days. He then dispersed the new levies of

33 Though the republican party at first refused to elect a president of the council of state, it was afterwards found convenient to adopt that measure ; and Bradshaw, who had condemned Charles I. to death, was elevated to that dignity.

the royalists, took Dundee by storm (where he put the greater part of the garrison to the sword), received the submissions of the inhabitants of Aberdeen and the northernmost towns, and speedily subdued all opposition, except that of some independent spirits who continued in arms in the Highlands, but whose efforts were too weak to counteract the measures that were now taken for uniting the Scottish dominions with the commonwealth of England. The chief-justice St. John, the younger Vane, Monk, Lambert, and others, were appointed commissioners for the settlement of North-Britain; and, after various conferences between them and the deputies who were chosen by the different shires and boroughs, a new establishment took place. The authority of the English republic was formally acknowledged by the Scots: the crownlands were seized by the victorious state, as well as the estates of many of the royalists, while others of that party were admitted to a composition for their property: judges were sent from England, by whom the laws were impartially administered; the tyranny of the kirk was repressed; and, though it was deemed necessary to keep up a military force, the soldiers were subjected to a strict regularity of discipline, which prevented them from domineering over a vanquished people. The conquerors proposed that the representative bodies of the two nations should be united, by the delegation of a certain number of Scottish members to co-operate with the republican assembly of South-Britain: but this scheme was not fully executed while the present parliament subsisted ³⁴.

In the mean time, the parliament met with great success in Ireland. Ireton, who acted as Cromwell's

A. D.
1651.

A. D.
1652.

34. Parl. Hist. vol. xx.—Ludlow, vol. i

A. D.
1652.

deputy in the government of that country, had continued the war with spirit after the departure of his father-in-law; and being ably assisted by lord Broghill, lieutenant-general Ludlow, Sir Charles Coote, and other officers of reputation, he reduced the catholic party, as well as the protestant royalists, to a very low ebb. The marquis of Ormond, despairing of the retrieval of the king's affairs, again retired to the continent, leaving to the marquis of Clanricarde the small remains of Hibernian power then possessed in the name of Charles. This nobleman had no opportunity of effectually opposing Ireton; and, when the latter had fallen a victim to the plague at Limerick, Ludlow, to whom the chief military command devolved, completed by his activity and valor the triumph of the parliamentarians³⁵.

Ireton was a man of considerable talents, which had enabled him to be extremely useful to his party. He was strongly tinctured with republican principles; a circumstance which, concurring with personal ambition, and with a morose and unfeeling temper, had induced him to take an active part in the destruction of the late monarch. He was distinguished by indefatigable industry, rigid inflexibility, and a general strictness in the administration of justice. In consideration of his services to the parliament, he was magnificently interred in the abbey of Westminster at the public expence; and a liberal grant was assigned to his family.

Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who, by espousing the widow of Ireton, contracted an affinity with Cromwell, was appointed, by the interest of that powerful leader, commander in chief of the forces in Ireland; and, being also numbered among the commis-

35. Elench. Motuum, vol. ii.—Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, vol. ii.

A. D.
1652.

sioners for directing the civil affairs of that island, he proceeded with his associates to the settlement of the conquered state. Courts of justice were erected for the trial of those who had been principally concerned in the Irish rebellion and massacre; and Sir Phelim O'Neile, and other notorious delinquents, to the number of about 200, were executed. By the permission of the victors, 26,000 of the Irish quitted their country, and entered into the service of the princes of the continent. The remaining descendants of the original natives were required to confine themselves to the province of Connaught, where small portions of land were assigned for their maintenance. The estates not only of the catholic rebels, but also of the protestants who had defended the royal cause against the parliamentarians, were, for the most part, confiscated; and even such as had embraced a neutrality, were compelled to give up a fifth part of their property. The forfeited lands were then distributed, in regular proportion, among the adventurers who had subscribed different sums towards the expences of the war, as well as among the warriors who had achieved the reduction of the island. Thus, after a long series of rancorous hostilities, which had been occasionally embittered by famine and pestilence, Ireland was reduced to perfect subjection under the English commonwealth; and peace, order, and abundance, were restored to that harassed country³⁶.

Other conquests, about the same time, graced the arms of England. The Scilly isles, and those of Man, Jersey, and Guernsey, were reduced by the active republicans, who also became masters of Virginia and the other English settlements on the continent of

36. Elench. Motuum, vol. ii.—Continuation of the Life of Lord Clarendon, vol. ii.—Ludlow, vol. i. & ii.

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1652.

North-America, as well as of those islands in the West-Indies which had been subject to the late king³⁷.

Elate with this prosperous career, the parliament rushed into a foreign war. Strickland, who had resided in Holland for some years as an agent for the adversaries of the late king, had been directed by the new commonwealth to make overtures of national amity to the Dutch; but the states-general refused to admit him to an audience, or to acknowledge him as the minister of the English republic. The latter then commissioned a civilian named Dorislaus, a native of Delft, to negotiate an alliance with the states. This envoy, having acted as an assistant to that court which condemned Charles I. was assassinated at the Hague by some of the adherents of that prince; and, as the states, by the tardiness of their proceedings, gave the murderers an opportunity of escaping, the parliament expressed some resentment on the occasion. That assembly, however, resolved to make another attempt for the formation of a strict confederacy with the United Provinces. The chief-justice St.-John was sent to Holland as ambassador extraordinary, in conjunction with Strickland. The states-general thought proper to give audience to these ministers, who proposed that the two republics should be "confederated friends, allied together for the defence and preservation of the liberties of the people of each, against all who should attempt the disturbance of either state by sea or land, or be declared enemies to the freedom of the subjects of either of the governments." The Dutch were willing to renew that

37. Clarendon's Hist. book xiii.—White Locke, ad annos 1651 et 1652.

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1652.

alliance which had formerly subsisted between them and the English, with such alterations as might be adapted to the present state of affairs; but they were not inclined to form so close a conjunction as might be more beneficial to the rising republic of England than to themselves, and might give that state an opportunity of domineering over its ally. Their objections to the terms proposed by the English ambassadors produced spirited replies from those ministers, who were also disgusted with the insults which they had received from the populace, by whom St.-John was detested for his concern in the death of Charles I. This treatment made a deep impression on the imperious and vindictive spirit of St.-John, who, having great influence among his countrymen, resolved to exert it to the prejudice of the Dutch ³⁸.

The chief justice, after his return to England, made an unfavorable report of the behaviour of the Dutch, whom he represented as well affected to Charles Stuart, and averse to the friendship of the new commonwealth. At his instigation, letters of marque were granted to some individuals who complained of having received injuries at sea from the subjects of Holland; and a statute was enacted ³⁹, which, while it tended to the encouragement of the English commerce, diminished that of the United Provinces. This beneficial law (well known under the title of the *navigation act*) ordained that no commodities should be imported into England from Asia, Africa, or America, except in English ships, or from any part of Europe except in such vessels as belonged to the people of that country of which the articles were the growth or manufacture.

³⁸. Elench. Motuum, vol. ii.—Ludlow, vol. i.—Clarendon, vol. iii.
—Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i.

³⁹. In October, 1651,

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1652.

The states-general loudly complained of a law which, in a manner, shut the ports of England against their subjects, whose commerce chiefly consisted in the conveyance of the produce of other countries. They sent ambassadors to London to resume the negotiation for an alliance, and solicit the repeal of the obnoxious statute. The parliament consented to a treaty, but refused to abrogate the act, or restore the Dutch ships and cargoes which had been seized for the violation of it ⁴⁰.

In the debates on the affairs of Holland, a majority of the parliament leaned to a war with that nation: but those who were inclined to such a measure were influenced by different motives. Some were jealous of the views of the Dutch, and, resenting their late proceedings, were desirous of clipping the wings of that flourishing republic. Others were of opinion that it would be politic to sink the divisions of party in the bustle of a foreign war, and to aim at the gratification of the English vanity by the splendor of victory. Some entertained the hope that the expence of a naval war, by affording a valid ground for the dismissal, or at least a great diminution, of the military force, would tend to the prevention of the dangerous schemes of Cromwell, the success of whose ambition depended on the strength of the army. The friends of Oliver, on the contrary, concluded, that a war with a foreign nation, while there were so many internal enemies to be guarded against, would render it expedient to continue the military establishment.

While the Dutch ambassadors were treating at London, they informed the council of state, that their employers had equipped a powerful fleet for the protection of their trade. They hoped that these formidable

40. Clarendon.—Ludlow.

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1652.

preparations would intimidate the English rulers into a desire of peace; but the spirit of the latter, inflamed by this menace, inclined them the more to warlike measures.

The rival nations were still treating, when an engagement happened between their fleets. Van Tromp, with above 40 ships of war, appeared in the Downs, where he was met by Blake, commander in chief of the English fleet. Three guns were successively fired without ball, by order of the latter, to draw from the Dutch the usual compliment to the English flag; but Tromp, instead of yielding to the demand, fired a broadside, which Blake answered by a similar discharge. The conflict, of which the admiral's ship bore the chief brunt, continued above four hours, and terminated to the advantage of the English, though they had less than 25 sail. They captured two of the enemy's ships, one of which soon after sunk; and Tromp took the opportunity of the night to make his retreat ⁴¹.

The war, being thus commenced, was prosecuted by both parties with great spirit and animosity, after the Dutch had made a fruitless attempt, by the medium of a new embassy, to accommodate all differences with their haughty neighbours. Charles, in the hope of deriving some benefit from this war, offered his personal assistance to the states in their naval enterprises, without requiring any authority or command, except over such vessels as should, in his behalf, desert the English fleet. The states rejected this offer, alleging that their acceptance of it would so bind them to the support of his cause, as to deprive them of an opportunity of bringing the war to that speedy conclusion which their own interests rendered desirable ⁴².

41. Appendix to the Parl. Hist. vol. xxiii. p. 120—122.—White-
locke, p. 508, 509.—Ludlow, vol. i.—Clarendon.

42. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 359.

Having

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July.

Having taken a squadron of Dutch mercantile ships, with three men of war which convoyed them, Blake failed to the northward, with a view of intercepting the herring-busses of the enemy. He captured a great number of these vessels; but, contenting himself with the seizure of their cargoes, he dismissed them. Of the twelve ships of war which guarded them, he took nine; and, in his return to the southward, he made frequent captures⁴³.

Aug. 16.

During Blake's northern voyage, Sir George Aylcough, who had been employed in the reduction of the American settlements, commanded the English fleet in the channel. Having attacked 40 sail of Dutch merchant-men, escorted by four ships of war, he took some, burned others, and dispersed the remainder. With about 40 ships, he engaged de Ruyter near Plymouth. The Dutch admiral had above 50 men of war under his command, besides a commercial squadron; but his vessels were inferior in strength to those of the enemy. The combat was maintained till night with great obstinacy; and, though the English deprived their adversaries of two ships, they suffered so severely in their rigging, that they found it expedient to return to Plymouth⁴⁴.

Sept. 4.

Occasional hostilities were at the same time carried on between the English and French. Blake having attacked a fleet which had been sent by Lewis to the relief of Dunkirk, the victory which he obtained reduced the besieged to the necessity of surrendering to the Spaniards⁴⁵. The French court, dreading the

43. Whitelocke, p. 511, 514, 515.—Ludlow, vol. i. p. 420.—Clarendon.

44. Whitelocke, p. 517.—Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 358.—*Vie de Michel de Ruyter*, publiée à Amsterdam en 1677, p. 10—13.

45. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 359.—Whitelocke, p. 518.—Ludlow, vol. i.

formation of a league between Spain and England, endeavoured, not without success, to pacify, by submission, the hostile spirit of the domineering commonwealth.

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The autumn of this year was distinguished by several naval engagements. Captain Badely, with a small squadron, maintained a long and desperate conflict in the Mediterranean; but was defeated by the superior force of the Dutch, under Van Galen. Blake, in the *Downs*, had a running fight, for three days, with the admirals de Witte and Ruyter, the opposite fleets consisting respectively of about 60 sail. He sunk or captured several of their vessels, and compelled them to retreat within their harbours. The Dutch fleet, being reinforced, put to sea again under the conduct of Van Tromp, whom Blake, with a very inferior armament, encountered near the Godwin sands. Each side fought with great valor; and Blake and Tromp particularly distinguished themselves. Victory at length inclined to the Hollanders, the English being obliged to retire with the loss of two ships of 44 guns, and some smaller vessels ⁴⁶.

Sept. 30.

Nov. 29.

The war was vigorously renewed in the succeeding year. Tromp appeared in the channel with near 80 sail, escorting about 200 merchant-men. Triumphant in his late success, which had prompted him, immediately after the engagement, to affix a broom to his main-top-mast, implying that he would sweep away all the English shipping, he was eager to complete the glory of his country by a decisive victory over her rivals; while Blake was equally impatient for another conflict, that he might take vengeance for the discomfiture which he had sustained. As it was usual in

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46. Whitelocke.—Ludlow.—Warwick.

England,

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Feb. 18.

England, at that period, for military officers to make a sudden transition to the naval service, instead of passing through a preparatory nautic education, lieutenant-general Monk was appointed to act as an admiral under Blake. The English fleet, which exceeded 70 sail, had no sooner approached the enemy, near Portland, than a fierce cannonade commenced. The conflict continued till the evening; and it was renewed on the two following days. The Dutch then retreated in the night, leaving an important victory to their antagonists, who, with the loss of only one vessel, though many others were greatly damaged, captured or destroyed 13 ships of war, and carried off about 30 merchant-men. It is computed that near 3000 men were slain on both sides, in these three combats; with such fury did the two fleets engage ⁴⁷.

In the Mediterranean, the squadrons of Badely and Van Galen had a second engagement. The former lost several of his ships; while the latter perished in the arms of victory. In the mean time very numerous captures were made in different seas by the English, who, while they thus injured the commerce of the Dutch, sustained a comparatively small loss of their own mercantile vessels.

Before the next engagement of importance, a remarkable change occurred in the government. Cromwell had long waited for an opportunity of usurping the sovereignty of the state; and he saw, with discontent, the reluctance of the parliament to that abdication of authority which the people had been taught to expect. So unpopular were the members in general, that the public made great complaints of their tardi-

47. Parl. Hist. vol. xx.—Clarendon, vol. iii.—Whitelocke.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.

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ness with respect to the execution of their promise of adjusting a new representation, and retiring from their present situation. The influence of Oliver had, with some difficulty, procured a majority of votes to a declaration, importing that this parliament should not sit after the 3d of November, 1654. But the eagerness of his ambition represented even this period as too distant; and he endeavoured, though without effect, to prevail on the assembly to consent to a speedy resignation of its authority. He had warmly promoted an act of oblivion and indemnity⁴⁸, in the hope of ingratiating himself with the royalists, who, having been severely harassed and plundered, were pleased with his exertions for their relief, though they could never forget or forgive his unjustifiable conduct towards their late sovereign. With regard to the presbyterians, though they resented his expulsion of their friends from parliament, he had reason to think that any act of violence which he might exercise against their great enemies, the independents, who had strenuously abetted their seclusion, would be highly agreeable to them. The majority of the military officers readily acquiesced in any scheme which he proposed to them; and, being alarmed with the fears of dismissal, they were particularly ready to concur with him in the prevention of any measures which might tend to the prejudice of the army. The parliament had already diminished the monthly assessments for the pay of the soldiery, and had ordered the reduction of that body. Apprehensive of further resolutions of this nature, the general resolved on the immediate execution of a bold scheme, by which he hoped to conduct himself to the highest point of power and authority.

48. Which passed in February, 1652.

After

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1653.

April 20.

After some altercation between the council of officers and the parliament, arising from the remonstrances of the former, Cromwell, finding that it was the wish of the major part of the members, instead of having a new representative body, to continue themselves, and supply the present vacancies by the election of their friends and creatures, prepared for dissolving the assembly by violence. He repaired to the house with a party of soldiers; and, having listened for a short time to the debates, suddenly started up, and acrimoniously upbraided the parliament, as a set of tyrants, traitors, and robbers. "The Lord (said he) has now discarded you, and has chosen other instruments for his service." Sir Peter Wentworth reproved him for the impropriety of his behaviour, and remarked, that such indecorous language was particularly reprehensible, in being thrown out against a great assembly by a servant whom it had so highly trusted and obliged. Cromwell imperiously interrupted this speaker; and treading violently on the floor, cried out, "You are no parliament: I will put an end to your sitting." An officer then entered with some musqueteers; and the general ordered the members to make an immediate retreat, and give place to men of greater honesty and virtue. The terrified republicans now retired; while Cromwell, singling out some of them, reproached them with particular vices. The speaker was gently pulled from his chair by major-general Harrison, and departed with great reluctance. Having cleared the house, and locked the doors, the general marched off with his obedient myrmidons ⁴⁹.

"Thus (says the noble historian) did Cromwell dissolve that assembly, which had sat almost thirteen years, and under whose name he had wrought

⁴⁹. Clarendon, vol. iii.—Lndlow, vol. ii.—Whitelocke,

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“so much mischief, and reduced three kingdoms to his
 “entire obedience and subjection, without any exam-
 “ple or precedent in the Christian world that could
 “raise his ambition to such a presumptuous undertak-
 “ing, and without any rational dependence on the
 “friendship of one man who had any other interest to
 “advance his designs, but what he had given him by
 “preferring him in the war⁵⁰.” That a confederacy
 of factious republicans, who had concurred with the
 army in expelling from the parliament a majority of
 the members, had subjected their sovereign to a fate
 which they had no national authority to ordain, and
 had iniquitously usurped the whole power of the state,
 merited that violent dissolution which they now sus-
 tained, no lover of justice or equity will deny; but it
 must be acknowledged that this bold procedure came
 with an ill grace from one who had been principally
 concerned in all their illegal measures, who had been
 amply rewarded by them for his services, and had
 sworn allegiance to that government which they admi-
 nistered.

The military and naval exploits which had been per-
 formed under the auspices of the republican parlia-
 ment, had raised that assembly to a height of fame
 which struck Europe with awe. The reduction of
 Scotland and Ireland under its yoke, the retention of
 three spirited nations under an unpopular subjection,
 and the vigorous prosecution of its schemes both of
 policy and war, had given it an *éclat* which seemed to
 prognosticate a longer duration of its prosperity than
 that which really attended it. But, as its dissolution
 was not displeasing either to the presbyterians or the
 royalists, who formed a great proportion of the people,

50. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 374.

and

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and as the power of the army, under so able a leader as Cromwell, appeared too formidable to be easily withstood, no public commotions ensued from the violent proceedings of that enterprising upstart.

Having dismissed the council of state as well as the parliament, Oliver published a declaration, justifying his late actions on the grounds of patriotism and piety; reproaching the discarded rulers with corruption, fraud, tyranny, and self-interest; professing an intention of "calling to the government persons of approved fidelity and honesty;" and desiring all civil officers and public ministers to continue in the discharge of their respective functions. The supreme power was now in the hands of Cromwell and his council of officers, who received congratulatory addresses from different bodies of people, and met with a general obedience to their commands⁵¹.

While this stratocracy subsisted, the war was still carried on with the states-general. Blake, Dean, and Monk, with a numerous armament, chased a strong Dutch fleet into the Texel; and then sailed to the northward in quest of a large convoy, which found means, however, to evade the vigilance of the English, and to arrive in safety in the ports of Holland. Afterwards, in the absence of Blake, Dean and Monk commenced an engagement with Van Tromp, near the North Foreland. The two fleets were nearly equal in point of number. The combat was maintained by both parties with extraordinary spirit; but the English had the advantage. On the following day, the fight was renewed; and the arrival of Blake with eighteen sail completed the victory of his countrymen, who were employed during the next day in the pursuit

51. Parl. Hist. vol. xx,

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of the vanquished enemy. In these conflicts, about 200 of the English were slain, admiral Dean being of the number. The Dutch lost a far greater proportion of men; and, while their adversaries did not lose a single vessel, they lost seventeen, some of which were the best in their fleet ⁵².

Weary of a war which threatened the ruin of their trade, the Dutch now sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which Cromwell and his council of state seemed inclined to grant; but there were some disputes with regard to the terms. During the negotiations, the states repaired and recruited their navy with great diligence, as Oliver refused to comply with their request for a cessation of hostilities before the conclusion of the treaty. Van Tromp then put to sea with 90 sail; and he was soon met by an English armament, consisting of about the same number of vessels, commanded by Monk. There was a brisk though partial combat for some hours; and, on the succeeding day, it was renewed, but in a very trifling degree. Being reinforced with 27 men of war under de Witte, Tromp, on the third day, furiously encountered the whole fleet of the enemy. In the heat of the battle, this able officer, justly ranked among the greatest seamen of the age, lost his life by a musquet-ball. De Witte, with the assistance of the brave Ruyter, endeavoured to prevent the ill consequences of such a loss; but the consternation of the Dutch encouraging the vigorous exertions of the English, the latter obtained the victory. The former lost about 25 of their ships; while their antagonists did not lose above five or six. Near 500 of the English

July 31.

52. Whitelocke, p. 532.—Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 380.—Tharloe's State Papers, vol. i.

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were slain; but, of the Dutch, about 2000 are supposed to have fallen ⁵³.

July 4.

During these sanguinary contests for naval dominion, Cromwell and his military junto quietly steered the helm of government. To amuse the public with the shadow of a representation, he had summoned a convention at Westminster by his own authority, as captain-general of the commonwealth. This assembly consisted of 139 persons, who were not elected by the people, but were nominated by him, and required to attend by his writs ⁵⁴. He opened the meeting with a long oration, in which he vindicated his own proceedings, and, in the cant of the times, expatiated on the striking display of the hand of God in the late events, and in the present call of so many godly and gifted individuals. He then produced an instrument under his own hand and seal, by which he condescended, in the plenitude of his power, to commit the supreme authority and government of the republic to the persons then assembled. When they met the next morning, they employed themselves in prayer and preaching, which they prolonged till the evening. They then filled the chair with Francis Rous, provost of Eton college; and sent a committee to desire that Cromwell would take his place as a member. They also invited four of his officers, Lambert, Harrison, Desborough, and Tomlinson, to a seat in their house. Having, by a small majority, voted the assembly to be a parliament, they appointed a new council of state, consisting of the general and 30 others, and proceeded to

⁵³. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 543.—Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 381.—Ludlow, vol. ii.

⁵⁴. Of these members, 122 were the pretended representatives of the city of London and the counties of England; 6, of Wales; 5, of Scotland; and 6, of Ireland. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xx.

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the discussion of the national affairs. They divided their time between devotion and business; for, instead of the short prayers used in modern senates, these fanatical politicians were not content without a daily series of extemporaneous prayers and sermons for many hours ⁵⁵.

Much censure and ridicule have been thrown out against this assembly; and most of the members have been stigmatised as despicable enthusiasts, of the meanest birth and education, wholly unqualified for legislation or government, and calculated only to bring the name of a parliament into such disrepute and contempt, that the people would be inclined to prefer the administration of a single person, even that of Cromwell, to the absurd tyranny of such an ignorant crew ⁵⁶. That many of the members deserved these reflexions, none will deny; but, with a view of proving the truth of those assertions, some projects have been imputed to this convention ⁵⁷, without that foundation in fact which alone could justify the positive mention of them; particularly, the abolition of the clerical order, the suppression of the universities, and the substitution of the Mosaic law for the juridical system of England. Of the schemes which these legislators really endeavoured to accomplish, the chief were the following: the reformation of the abuses, and diminution of the expences, of the law; and the regulation of the practice and the revenues of the clergy. Among the few acts which they passed, there was one which deprived ecclesiastics of the privilege of joining persons in ma-

55. Parl. Hist. vol. xx.—Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i.

56. From the real name of one of the members, distinguished by his loquacity and his fanaticism, the assembly received the appellation of "Praise-God Barebone's Parliament."

57. By the earl of Clarendon, Sir William Dugdale, Hume, Carte, &c.

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trimony, and committed that business to justices of the peace, to the great disgust of the former. They rendered themselves obnoxious to the professors of the law by voting the abolition of the court of chancery, for which, however, they intended to substitute a new court of equity ⁵⁸.

Dec. 12.

In the instrument which the general had given to these creatures of his power, he had fixed sixteen months as the term of their authority, and had assigned to them the nomination of their successors: but he was weary of them before they had continued six months, and began to take measures for the annihilation of their senatorial functions. By his influence, a motion was carried for the resignation of their powers; and the speaker, repairing to White-hall with those who had agreed to the vote, besought his excellency to reflect on their inability of providing effectually for the benefit of the commonwealth, and re-accept that authority which he had delegated to them. The dissentient members still remained in the house; but they were quickly put to flight on the appearance of a file of musqueteers. Cromwell now called a council, consisting chiefly of officers, to deliberate on the settlement of the nation; and it was resolved, that the government of the republics of England, Scotland, and Ireland, should be conferred on a single person, who should be assisted by "godly, able, and discrete counsellors;" and that the general himself should be appointed to that pre-eminent dignity, under the title of lord protector. Thus honored, Cromwell made a solemn procession to Westminster-hall, where, in the court of chancery, he was inaugurated in his new office. The major part of the council of state, the

Dec. 16.

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commissioners of the great seal, the judges, the principal members of the corporation of London, and many officers of the army, were assembled in the court, in magnificent array, when Lambert opened the business with a short speech, adverting to the late surrender of the powers of the parliament, stating that exigency of the times which demanded the vigorous hand of a single governor, and desiring, in the name of the soldiery, and of the citizens of the three nations, that the general would accept the dignity of protector. Cromwell gave his assent, with affected reluctance, to this pleasing offer; and an instrument of government, which his friends had lately prepared, was then read. The substantial purport of it was, that the supreme legislative authority of the three united republics should reside in the protector, and the people assembled in parliament; that the executive power should be exercised by the protector, with the assistance of a council; that all writs, patents, &c. should be issued in his name; that he should be the fountain of honor, and should have the power of pardoning (except in cases of murder and treason), as well as the benefit of all forfeitures; that he should not dispose of the militia or the navy without the consent of parliament, or of the major part of the council; that, with the sanction of the latter assembly, he might determine on war or peace, and make occasional laws, which should be obligatory till the meeting of parliament; that the chief officers of state should be chosen with the approbation of the legislature; that a parliament should be summoned to meet on the 3d of September, 1654, and in every third year afterwards, and should not, during five months, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without its own consent; that the number of representatives should be 400 for England and Wales, 30 for Scotland, and 30

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for Ireland; that all bills voted by this assembly should become laws, even if the protector should refuse his assent; and that 200,000 pounds *per annum* should be appropriated to the expences of the government, exclusive of a sufficient revenue for the support of a permanent navy, as well as of an army of 10,000 horse, and 20,000 foot; and that the sums assigned for these purposes should not be diminished by the parliament without the concurrence of the protector⁵⁹.

Having taken an oath for the observance of these articles, and of the laws and customs of the three nations, Cromwell was presented with the civil sword, and placed in the chair of state, where he received the salutations of his new subjects. He was afterwards proclaimed protector, with great solemnity, in the principal towns of Britain and Ireland; and he was soon complimented with numerous addresses, expressive of satisfaction at his aggrandisement.

59. Parl. Hist. vol. xx.—The council appointed by this instrument consisted of the following persons: Henry Lawrence (president), Philip lord Lisle, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, the major-generals Lambert, Desborough, and Skippon, the colonels Montague, Jones, and Sydenham, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Charles Wolfeley, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Francis Rous, Walter Strickland, and Richard Major. The instrument required that the number of these counsellors should not exceed 21, or be less than 13; and that the vacancies should be supplied by the protector's choice of one out of two individuals selected by the council from six nominated for each vacancy by the parliament.





Heath sculp.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

C H A P. II.

THE PROTECTORATE.

The protector concludes a peace with the Dutch.—He suppresses an insurrection of the royalists.—Jamaica is reduced by an English armament.—Cromwell forms an alliance with Lewis XIV.—Admiral Blake destroys a Spanish plate-fleet.—Mardyke and Dunkirk are taken by a combined army of French and English;—and delivered up to the latter.—Cromwell is succeeded in the protectorate by Richard, his eldest son;—who is soon obliged by the army to relinquish his station.—The long parliament is restored by the army.—It is alternately dissolved and restored by that body.—General Monk marches with an army out of Scotland to decide the fate of the nation:—by his influence the healing parliament is summoned;—and Charles II. is placed on the throne of his ancestors.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

THE exertion of abilities, courage, artifice, hypocrisy, and insinuation, aided by a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, had at length elevated, to the sovereignty of three nations, an individual who, at the commencement of the long parliament, was as obscure and unnoticed as the most insignificant of the rustic members. Had Cromwell lived in a tranquil period, and in a community less influenced by faction and fanaticism, he would probably have ever remained in obscurity: but, his genius being called forth by the distractions of civil war, he conceived the hope of ac-

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quiring fame and pre-eminence; and, being stimulated by an excess of ambition to seize every opportunity of pushing his fortune, he proceeded with undaunted perseverance, through a series of bold exploits and iniquitous measures, till he had obtained the power, though not the name, of a king.

Though he procured his power by unjustifiable means, he exercised it in general with a degree of wisdom and moderation which even his enemies have acknowledged and applauded. He endeavoured to promote the welfare of the people, and secure the national prosperity. He cultivated the impartial distribution of justice, and seemed to be actuated by a regard for the constitution, except where his own authority was controverted or denied; in which cases, he deemed it necessary to act in an arbitrary manner, not only for his own security, but for the preservation of the public peace, which, he knew, could not flourish under a disputed government. When conspiracies were formed for his destruction, he punished only the principal offenders; but every execution of a royalist was considered as a murder by that party, though it could not be expected that even the most merciful of usurpers would pardon all the malecontents who conspired against him.

The first foreign power which acknowledged the authority of the protector, was the court of Spain, which had also been the first to recognise the republic after the death of Charles I. France, and other nations, soon followed the example of Spain; and the friendship of the usurper was courted by the most powerful states of Europe. Being desirous of putting an end to the war with the Dutch, he continued the negotiations with that people; and a treaty was now concluded, by which the states-general bound themselves

to

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to refuse protection to Charles Stuart and his adherents, and to every enemy of the English commonwealth; to restore Poleron, one of the spice islands, to the East-India company of England; to give pecuniary satisfaction for the cruelties committed at Amboyna in 1623, and punish all the offenders who yet survived; to recognise the right of the English to the honors of the flag, in the narrow seas; and defend the ships of that nation, whenever they should be attacked by any other power. In return for these stipulations, the protector engaged to exclude the enemies of the Dutch republic from the territories which he governed, and to defend the vessels of that state against all aggression. The king of Denmark was comprehended in the treaty as an ally of the states-general, who agreed to indemnify the English merchants for the injury sustained by that prince's seizure of their ships in the port of Copenhagen. At the desire of Cromwell, who wished to render the house of Orange less able to serve the Stuart family, an article was proposed for the exclusion of the prince of Orange and his descendants from the dignities of stadtholder, admiral, and general; but the influence of the protector was ineffectual for procuring the general consent of the Dutch republic to that proposal, though the most powerful province, that of Holland, agreed to it by a private article¹.

Since the Portuguese, by the protection which they had given to prince Rupert and his fleet, had aroused the resentment of the English republic, their commerce had been considerably injured by the occasional captures of their vessels. They were therefore desirous of adjusting all differences; but they had not completed their reconciliation with the offended state,

1. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii.—Batavia Illustrata, vol. ii.

when

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when Oliver assumed the reins of government. He demanded high terms of them before he would grant them a peace; and, during the negotiation, he ordered a legal process to be instituted against Don Pantaleo de Sa' è Meneses, the brother and colleague of their ambassador. The delinquent was a youth of a haughty and violent spirit, who, on a supposed affront from an officer named Gerard, furiously assaulted him; but the latter escaped death by the assistance of a friend. The next day, Pantaleo appeared at the same place (the Royal Exchange) with an armed retinue, and directed an attack to be made on colonel Mayo, whom he mistook for the friend of Gerard. A conflict ensued, which terminated in the death of one Greenway². For this offence, Pantaleo and some of his attendants were tried by a jury, and condemned to death; and, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the ambassadors who were then in England, to whom it was replied by Cromwell and his council, that the law of nations, and the privileges of the *corps diplomatique*, did not authorise impunity for the commission of murder, the Portuguese offender lost his head on Tower-hill. Though the proceedings against him were regarded by the Portuguese as an insult on their nation, the treaty was not broken off, but was signed by their ambassador on the same day. It was not, however, ratified by the king of Portugal till near two years afterwards. It not only stipulated a pecuniary payment to the English government, but gave considerable advantages to this nation in the way of commerce³.

July 10.

It is remarkable, that Gerard, whose freedom of observation had hurried Don Pantaleo into that sanguinary

2. Whitelocke, p. 550.—Clarendon.

3. Thurloe's State Papers.—Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

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act which brought him to the block, was himself beheaded on the same day for a different offence. On the charge of having been concerned in a conspiracy against the protector, he had been condemned by an arbitrary court of judicature; for Cromwell, unwilling to trust to the decision of a jury in cases of treason, had, in imitation of the republican parliament, erected what were termed high courts of justice, in which judges of his appointment were the sole determinators of the guilt of the accused persons. Vowel, a school-master, being tried as one of the accomplices of Gerard, was sentenced to death, and hanged at Charing-Cross⁴.

It does not appear that Charles had particularly countenanced the machinations of Gerard; though he had given a general encouragement to his friends to aim at the destruction of the usurper, by promising a reward of 500 pounds *per annum* to the person who should take away his life⁵. Some of the partisans of the exiled prince were, about this time, employed in promoting his cause in Scotland. But the exertions of Monk, whom Cromwell had lately sent into that country as commander in chief, baffled the schemes of the insurgents, and restored the tranquillity of the north.

Before the time appointed for the meeting of the protector's first parliament, he published a variety of ordinances⁶, some of which were very judicious.

4. Whitelocke, p. 575, 577.—Clarendon.

5. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 248.

6. Among these were the following: one for defining treason; another for preventing any person from officiating as a public preacher, without the previous approbation of certain commissioners; one for an amnesty to the Scots; one for the union of Scotland with England; for bringing the national revenues into one treasury; for preventing duels; for regulating the court of chancery; and for the ejection of scandalous and insufficient ministers and school-masters. *Cromwell's Acts and Ordinances.*

When

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1654.
Sept. 3.

Sept. 12.

When that assembly met, he addressed the members in a prolix harangue, in which he described the situation both of foreign and domestic affairs. As the elections had been conducted on a free plan, in compliance with the regulations specified in the instrument of government, he did not find the representatives so obsequious as he wished. He had perhaps expected that his condescension in giving the nation a free legislature would render him so popular as to secure him a majority of persons inclined to the support of his authority. But this effect did not ensue; for the greater part of the members expressed a strong inclination to circumscribe and diminish his power; and nothing but the terrors of the army prevented them from annulling that instrument on which his new dignity was founded. Incensed at their opposition to his authority, he summoned them to the Painted Chamber, where he reprimanded them for their contumacy, vindicated the legality of the present establishment, and signified his firm resolution of exacting obedience to it. He then insisted on their subscribing an engagement to be faithful to him, and not to attempt to alter the government, as settled in one person and a parliament. Guards were placed at the door of the house to prevent the members from re-entering before they had signed this recognition of his authority; to which they reluctantly agreed, at the same time declaring, by a vote, that it did not bind them to a confirmation of all the articles in the instrument of government. It was the wish of the protector, that the limitations stated in that scheme should be removed, and that he might not only receive an increase of power, but might have his dignity established on an hereditary basis; but the house opposed his aims with such firmness, that he impatiently longed for the arrival of that period in which he should be at liberty, according to the

the instrument, to dissolve the assembly. When five lunar months (for he preferred the military computation on this occasion) had elapsed, he harangued the parliament with some asperity, and, before the completion of a single statute, put an end to a meeting from which he had derived so little satisfaction ⁷.

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Jan. 22.

The protector's authority was, at this time, exposed to some danger from the machinations of his numerous adversaries. The royalists formed schemes for his destruction; the republicans, with equal eagerness, but with different views, sought his ruin; and a spirit of discontent prevailed even in that army which had elevated him to his present dignity. But, by the vigilance of Thurloe, his secretary, he gained such early and accurate intelligence of the contrivances of the disaffected, as enabled him to frustrate their attempts by prudent precautions. He imprisoned many of the plotting cavaliers; secured some of the republican leaders and mal-content officers; and sent to Ireland for a supply of forces. Intimidated by these measures, many of the conspirators relinquished their intentions of taking arms; and, though the royalists had planned an insurrection in many of the counties, it was only attempted in a few. Sir Thomas Harris, with a small party, endeavoured to surprise the castle of Shrewsbury; but his efforts in behalf of Charles were soon checked by his captivity. In the north of England, lord Wilmot (on whom the royal exile had conferred the title of earl of Rochester), Sir Henry Slingsby, Sir Richard Maleverer, and others, appeared in arms against the government; but, being joined by few of the provincials, they desisted from the prosecution of their schemes. In the shire of Nottingham, a great number of royalists

7. Whitelocke.—Dugdale.—Parl. Hist.

assembled

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assembled in the night; but, before they had made choice of a leader, a panic seized them, and they quickly dispersed themselves. The principal insurrection occurred in Wiltshire, where Sir Joseph Wagstaffe, Penruddock, Grove, and other gentlemen, with about 200 followers, took possession of Salisbury, seized the sheriff and the judges, who were then holding the assizes, and proclaimed Charles II. As the inhabitants of that and the neighbouring counties had too little confidence of success to rise on this occasion, the insurgents were joined by few. By the advice of his companions, Wagstaffe dismissed the judges, though he was desirous of putting them to death for serving under an illegal administration. He then marched to the westward, till he arrived in Devonshire with his fatigued party. Being attacked at South-Moulton by a troop of horse, the terrified mal-contents were quickly put to flight; and the greater part became prisoners, though their leader escaped. Penruddock and Grove were condemned by a jury, and beheaded at Exeter; and some of their confederates were hanged in that city, while others suffered at Salisbury. Some were indulged with a pardon; others were long detained in prison; and many were sent to the English plantations in the western hemisphere⁸.

The protector, being desirous of augmenting his pecuniary resources, and of throwing a lustre on his administration by foreign conquests, now meditated hostilities against the Spaniards. He had been earnestly solicited by cardinal Mazarine, the intriguing minister of France, to co-operate with Lewis against Spain. The two crowns had been engaged in a long

8. Elench. Motuum, vol. ii. edit. 1663, p. 323—325.—Clarendon, vol. iii.—Ludlow, vol. ii.—Whitelocke, p. 599, 601.

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war, which had considerably weakened the power of Philip IV. who therefore, as well as his powerful adversary, had courted the assistance of Cromwell. After some hesitation, Oliver resolved to join the French ; a determination to which he was impelled by various motives. His principal inducement seems to have been a desire of participating in the wealth of Spanish America ; to which we may add, that he wished to revenge the insults and barbarities committed on the English by the jealous and haughty possessors of Mexico and Peru. Another reason for his inclination to a French alliance, originated in the apprehension of the exertions of Lewis in favor of his cousin Charles, whose establishment on the English throne would not, he thought, be effectually promoted by any other prince. He has been greatly censured for his conjunction with France ; a measure which, in the opinion of many writers, principally contributed to the mischiefs that were afterwards suffered by several of the European nations from the arrogance of Gallic power and ambition. But, all circumstances considered, Spain seems to have been, at that time, the more formidable of the two nations ; so that his league with France might have been intended for the purpose of preventing a preponderance of the balance of power, instead of subverting it.

Without a formal declaration of war, Cromwell sent out a fleet of about 30 ships of war to the western hemisphere, under the conduct of vice-admiral Penn. In this fleet were embarked near 3000 soldiers, commanded by Venables, who had served with honor in the Hibernian war. At Barbadoes and St. Christopher's, the army received a considerable reinforcement ; with which the fleet proceeded to Hispaniola.

Having

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April 14.

Having disembarked on this island, the troops advanced towards St. Domingo, the capital; but, that town being near 40 miles distant, they were greatly harassed in their march with heat, hunger, thirst, and disease; and the Spaniards, having time to recover from the consternation which had at first seized them, boldly prepared for their defence. Being restrained with respect to plunder, the invaders became discontented and mutinous; and, as a perfect harmony did not subsist either between Penn and Venables, or between them and the commissioners whom the protector had sent out as directors of the expedition, the discouragements which attended a tedious march through woods were highly embittered. In several skirmishes, the English sustained considerable loss; and, despairing of the reduction of St. Domingo, they returned to their vessels, and steered for Jamaica, which they hoped to find in a weak state of defence. Here they met with a success which consoled them for their late miscarriage. They speedily quelled the small opposition made by the Spaniards, and gained possession of an island which proved a valuable acquisition. Leaving a body of soldiers, as well as a naval force, for the security of this important conquest, the two commanders returned to England, instead of attempting the reduction of any other island, or of any part of the continent⁹.

May 10.

As the instructions given by Cromwell comprised an extensive plan of conquest, he was greatly disappointed at the imperfect execution of his schemes; and his displeasure vented itself on Penn and his colleague, whom he ordered to be imprisoned in the

9. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii.—Carte's Collection of Original Letters, vol. ii. p. 46—52.—Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 453, 454.—White-
locke, p. 608.

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Tower. But, when he considered that they had reason to complain of the inadequate proportion of arms and stores with which he had furnished them, he released them from their confinement. Sensible of the value of the island which they had reduced, he encouraged the emigration of adventurers to Jamaica; and that settlement soon became more beneficial to England than it had ever been to Spain.

While Penn's squadron was employed in the American seas, Blake, who commanded another fleet, diffused through the Mediterranean the terror of the English arms. Having anchored before Algier, he procured the liberation of his captive countrymen; and extorted from the dey an engagement for the cessation of those depredations which his piratical subjects had occasionally committed upon the English. Proceeding to Tunis, he made the same requisitions, which, however, were treated with contempt, till his cannon had silenced the batteries of the barbarians, and nine of their vessels had been burned in the harbour by the daring exertions of his seamen. Intimidated by these specimens of English intrepidity, the Tunifines sued for peace, which he granted on terms similar to those which he had stipulated at Algier. He also concluded a treaty with the Tripolines; and obtained satisfaction from the knights of Malta, as well as from the grand-duke of Tuscany, for injuries sustained by the English merchants. During his voyage, he received instructions from Cromwell to aim at the interception of the Spanish plate-fleet; but he had no opportunity of accomplishing that object¹⁰.

Before the conclusion of the projected alliance between England and France, a treaty of peace was

¹⁰ Thurloe, vol. iii.—Clarendon, vol. iii.—Whitelocke.

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signed between those nations¹¹. As the terms of the confederacy occasioned much deliberation, above a year elapsed before it was completed. The management of the negotiation was committed to colonel Lockhart, a North-Briton of considerable abilities, who had acted as a member of the council established for the government of his native country.

With regard to the internal administration of the protector, he was so obnoxious to the resentment of a great number of enemies, whose animosity rather increased than declined, that he now ruled with greater rigor than before. To repress the efforts of the royalists, by a diminution of their means of opposition, he issued an ordinance for exacting from them annually a tenth part of their respective revenues. This decimation was an act of flagrant rapacity and injustice, as it not only violated all those compositions by which the cavaliers had purchased the forbearance of the ruling powers, and infringed the act of oblivion and indemnity, but involved the innocent with the guilty, by confounding the silent sufferers under usurpation with the intriguing opposers of it. To enforce the collection of this impost, and over-awe the nation in general, he subjected England and Wales to the yoke of twelve major-generals, on whom he conferred unconstitutional powers. These arbitrary proceedings excited much discontent; but the terrors of military power obliged the people to submit to the tyrannical exercise of this illegal sway¹².

The merchants of England were far from being pleased with the war into which Cromwell had hur-

11. Thurloe, vol. iv.

12. Elench. Motuum, vol. ii. p. 352, 353.—Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 434, 433.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

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ried the nation. They regretted the interruption of that lucrative commerce which they had carried on with Spain; and complained that they were greatly injured by the captures made by the enemy, while the chief benefit of the prizes gained by the English accrued to the protector and the naval combatants. But Oliver disregarded their murmurs, and resolved to prosecute a war from which he expected to derive both wealth and glory.

A. D.
1655.

A fleet being sent out under the joint command of Blake and Montague, these admirals sailed to Lisbon, to expedite the ratification of the treaty which their master had concluded with the king of Portugal. Had not that prince ratified the agreement, and paid the stipulated sum to the English ambassador, they would have attempted the capture of the Brazilian fleet. After having cruised for some time off the coast of Spain, they burned some of the ships of that nation in the bay of Malaga; and then steering towards Saltee, compelled the governor to agree to articles of peace, and release all English prisoners. They now returned to Portugal to re-victual their fleet; but left captain Stayner with seven frigates to cruise off Cadiz. This officer, perceiving the approach of a plate-fleet of eight sail, prepared for an attack, which he conducted with such courage and dexterity, that, though only three of his vessels had an opportunity of engaging, he took two of the galleons, sunk one, burned another, and stranded two. In that ship which was fired, the wife and daughter of the marquis of Badajoz, one of the governors of Spanish America, perished; and that nobleman himself, unwilling to survive those beloved relatives, whom he had in vain endeavoured to rescue from destruction, voluntarily shared the same fate.

A. D.
1656.

July 10.

Sept.

A. D.
1656.

The two prizes being estimated at 600,000 pounds, the protector was extremely pleased with this achievement; and, as the action was highly glorious to his countrymen, it reflected some credit on his administration, and rendered it less unpopular¹³.

The chief civil transaction of this year was the completion of the treaty which Cromwell had concluded, by the medium of Whitelocke, with Christina queen of Sweden. After the resignation of that princess, an ambassador had been sent to England by her successor Charles X. to treat of some additional articles; and a league was now adjusted between the Swedes and the English¹⁴. This measure was one branch of a plan formed by Oliver for a general confederacy of the protestant powers, the execution of which he had resolved to attempt in case of the failure of his negotiations with the French court.

With a view of gratifying the people, and also of strengthening the foundations of his own authority, the protector now convoked another parliament. As he had found the last assembly unwilling to comply with his desires, he made great exertions to procure the election of a favorable majority; but his utmost endeavours, seconded by the domineering influence of his major-generals, did not sufficiently answer his purpose; for he found that a considerable number of disaffected persons had been chosen. He therefore, on the first day of the session, placed guards in the lobby, who prevented the entrance of such of the elected persons as had not been able to procure a certificate of approbation from his council. By this arbitrary procedure, above 100 were excluded from the house; and

13. Elench. Motuum, vol. ii. p. 373, 374.—Thurloe, vol. v.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

14. Whitelocke, p. 638.—Thurloe, vol. v.

most of these injured individuals concurred in signing a remonstrance, protesting against the despotic conduct of Cromwell, reproaching the remaining members as betrayers of the liberties of the people, and declaring that all their votes and ordinances would be null and void. Regardless of this protest, the assembly proceeded to act as a parliament; and various bills of importance were prepared for the protector's assent. Before the close of the year, he gave his sanction to bills for renouncing and annulling the title of the house of Stuart, for the security of his own person, for the suppression of the court of wards and liveries, for the encouragement of exportation, &c. ¹⁵.

A. D.
1656.

During the session, a plot was formed against Cromwell. Syndercombe, who had formerly been one of the *agitators*, conspired with two of the usurper's guards to assassinate him; but, the scheme being discovered, he was apprehended, and condemned to death. By suicide, however, he avoided a public execution. The parliament ordered a general thanks-giving to be observed by the three nations for the protector's fortunate escape ¹⁶.

A. D.
1657.

In the following spring, secretary Thurloe communicated to the house the particulars of another conspiracy, formed for the subversion of the existing government. The projectors of this plot were the *fifth-monarchy men*; a set of enthusiasts who pretended that the reign of Christ and his elect would speedily take place on earth, and that a fifth empire, after the four great monarchies of the ancient world, would thus be established. These fanatics (who were also called *millennarians* ¹⁷) were headed by major-general Harrison,

April.

¹⁵. Parl. Hist. vol. xxi.

¹⁶. Id. ibid.—Thurloe, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

¹⁷. Because they held the doctrine of the *millennium*, and imagined that Christ was coming to reign 1000 years upon earth.

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1657.

vice-admiral Lawson, the colonels Rich and Okey, and a turbulent wine-cooper named Venner. Their intrigues being detected, some of their chiefs were punished with imprisonment¹⁸.

Notwithstanding the good fortune which had hitherto attended the usurper, and the height of power to which he had arrived, he was still uneasy and unsatisfied. He found a reluctance in the majority of the people to submit to a government unknown to the English laws: he perceived that they wished for the re-establishment of that form of administration which, being regulated and defined by the constitution, gave them a better chance of an equitable sway, than they now had under a magistrate whose power, though limited by a pretended instrument of government, was not sanctioned by law, and was therefore arbitrary. His own ambition prompted him, in a forcible manner, to aim at the full possession of the title as well as power of a king: he panted for the external glories of the diadem, and eagerly sought the honor of transmitting to his descendants a crown procured by his personal merit. Some of his creatures, sensible of his wish for royalty, proposed to the parliament that the crown should be offered to him; and, after several weeks of debate, an address was voted for that purpose, containing a series of requests, advices, and regulations.

Mar. 31. When this petition was presented to him, he desired time to deliberate on so momentous a point; and affected a reluctance to the acceptance of that dignity which in his heart he earnestly desired. This important affair was afterwards discussed between him and a select committee; and he still seemed unwilling to comply with the request of the parliament. At length,

18. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 181, 291.—Parl. Hist. vol. xxi.

after

after various conferences, he expressed his determination of rejecting the offered honor¹⁹.

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1657.

To remove the surprise which the reader may feel at Cromwell's refusal of the attractive splendor of a crown, it may be observed, that nothing but the strongest apprehensions of danger prompted him to relinquish the pursuit of this favorite object. The chief officers in the army, and the majority of the common soldiers, expressed a warm indignation at the shameless duplicity and unprincipled ambition of one who, after having declared himself decidedly hostile to the very name of king, now wished to encircle his own brows with the monarchical wreath; who, having destroyed his sovereign with the ostensible view of abolishing royalty itself, sought the revival of it in his own person, and aimed at superseding, by his own family, the innocent descendants of the murdered prince; and who, having falsified his most solemn professions by the assumption of the protectorate, disdained not to complete his perfidious iniquity by aspiring to a dignity which he had taught his friends to detest. A petition was presented to the house in the names of many of the officers, declaring, that, as they had formerly hazarded their lives against monarchy, they were ready to oppose with their blood the restoration of that form of government²⁰. It was intimated to Oliver, by his son-in-law Fleetwood, his brother-in-law Desborough, and other leading members of the military body, that he would lose the benefit of their service and influence by mounting the throne; that such a step would prove highly agreeable to his enemies, who were convinced that it would render him completely odious; that, if monarchy should be re-established, the people

19. Whitelocke, p. 646, 647.—Thurloe, vol. vi.—Parl. Hist. vol. xxi.

20. Ludlow, vol. ii.—Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 291.

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1657.

would naturally turn their eyes to the exiled heir, in preference to a traitorous upstart, whose sole pretensions to royalty were founded in violence and regicide; and that it was the intention of some bold individuals to take the first opportunity of assassinating him, if he should accept the royal title ²¹. Lambert, more from ambition than from principle (for he hoped to succeed to the protectorate), inflamed, by his artful suggestions, the displeasure of the soldiery, and urged them to resist the proposed elevation of their commander; and the provincial major-generals, whose unpopular authority had been annihilated by the house at Cromwell's instigation, studiously promoted that disgust and resentment which gave the anxious protector so much uneasiness. These circumstances, deliberately weighed in the mind of Oliver, deterred him from adopting a measure so obnoxious to that body which had hitherto formed his grand support.

Some alterations were now made in the address which had been prepared by the house; and it was presented to Cromwell under the title of "the humble petition and advice of the knights, citizens, and burgesses." The chief articles were, that he should have the power of nominating his successor in the protectorate; that he might name from 40 to 70 persons, who, being approved by the commons, should compose a distinct house, resembling the former house of peers; that no individuals legally chosen to serve in parliament should be excluded by any other authority than the judgment of the house; that no laws should be altered, suspended, or abrogated, except by act of parliament; that no tax whatever should be imposed without the consent of the legislature; and that a mil-

21. Clarendon, vol. iii.—Thurloe, vol. vi.—Ludlow, vol. ii.

tion of pounds sterling should be annually appropriated to the charges of the army and navy, while 300,000 pounds should supply the civil expenditure ²².

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1657.

This ordinance, compared with the former instrument of government, gave the protector a considerable increase of revenue, as well as an augmentation of authority, which, however, sustained some diminution by it in other respects. After Cromwell had given his assent to the new instrument, the house again took it into consideration, and made further alterations in it. It was then resolved that he should be solemnly inaugurated in the dignity of protector; and this repetition of parade, which was a strong acknowledgment of the illegality of his former appointment (though this was also illegal, being sanctioned only by an assembly which had been moulded to his purposes by the seclusion of his chief adversaries), concluded his acceptance of the new regulations ²³.

The war with Spain being referred to the deliberation of the parliament, it was justified by a vote as necessary and beneficial; and a considerable sum was voted for the prosecution of it. Admiral Blake, being directed to renew his endeavours for the capture of the plate ships of the enemy, cruised for some time off Cadiz; and then sailed towards the Canaries, on the receipt of intelligence respecting the arrival of a valuable fleet at the island of Teneriffe. He found six large galleons, and eleven smaller vessels, in the bay of Santa Cruz, at the entrance of which were two castles, besides seven forts in the circuit. The Spaniards thought themselves perfectly secure in such a situation, and considered an attack from Blake as pregnant with ruin to that commander. But they had not formed a proper

22. Parl. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 129—142.

23. Whitelocke, p. 661.—Parl. Hist. vol. xxi.

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1657.
April. 21.

idea of the enterprising dexterity and astonishing valor of this naval hero. He entered the bay in spite of all opposition, and maintained, for some hours, a furious conflict with the Spanish fleet, as well as with the soldiers who occupied the forts. Having driven his adversaries from their ships, he ordered his men to set them on fire, as he found it impracticable to bring them off; and, as soon as this service had been performed, he sailed out of the bay with the assistance of a sudden change of the wind. The Spaniards had hastily landed some of their plate before the engagement; but the remainder, to a great amount, was consumed with the vessels²⁴.

After this bold exploit, Blake cruised for some time off the Spanish coasts; and then, finding his ships in a bad condition, and himself in an ill state of health, commenced his return to England. His indisposition, which was both hydropic and scorbutic, increased in August. his passage; and he died as the fleet approached Plymouth. His body was brought to the metropolis, and interred with great solemnity in the abbey of Westminster, at the national expence. He was distinguished by his private virtues, as well as by his public merit. Though he disapproved the usurpation of Cromwell, he continued his exertions for the honor and advantage of his country, which, he said, ought still to be faithfully served, into whatever hands the government might fall.

The negotiations for an alliance with France were brought to a close in the spring of this year. It was agreed, that Cromwell should send over 6000 men (half of them armed and half unarmed) to co-operate with the troops of Lewis against the Spaniards in the

²⁴. Elench. Motuum, vol. ii. p. 401, 402.—Clarendon, vol. iii.—Thurloe, vol. vi.

Netherlands; that, as soon as Dunkirk and Mardyke should have been reduced by the confederates, they should be delivered up to the English; that, in this case, 3000 of the protector's soldiers should garrison the two towns, without being replaced by others; and that neither of the contracting parties should make peace with Spain without mutual consent, till the expiration of one year²⁵.

A. D.
1657.

It is now time to return to the exiled king, of whose situation some account will doubtless be expected. After his escape from the battle of Worcester, he had resided in France, till the negotiations between that court and Cromwell induced him to think of retiring into other territories. He therefore repaired to Germany; and, having obtained a small subsidy from the imperial diet, remained several years in that country. On the eruption of the war between England and Spain, he courted the good graces of Philip IV. with whom he at length concluded a treaty of alliance²⁶. Being thus connected with an enemy of France, and favored with a pension from his new ally, he declined the further receipt of that allowance with which Lewis had hitherto gratified him, and fixed his residence in the Netherlands, that he might be ready to promote a descent on the English coast. His brother James, duke of York, who had gallantly served in the French army against the Spaniards, now enlisted himself on the side of Philip, and had the command of a body of British and Hibernian refugees²⁷.

Of the 6000 men who were sent over to the continent by the protector, the command was given to co-

25. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 63, 115, 116.

26. In March, 1657.

27. E'ench. Motuum, vol. ii.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

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1657.

lonel Reynolds. Having joined the French army, they performed considerable service at the sieges of Montmedi and St. Venant, as well as at the relief of Ardres. At the siege of Mardyke, they also behaved with great gallantry; and, Cromwell's fleet under Montague co-operating, the combined forces soon gained possession of the place, which was immediately put into the hands of the English. An attempt was made by the troops of Charles to re-take it; but Reynolds repelled the assailants. This officer, being soon after drowned in his passage to England, was succeeded by colonel Morgan²⁸.

Sept.

A. D.
1658.
Jan. 20.

After a recess of above six months, the English legislature now re-assembled. In compliance with the *petition and advice*, Cromwell had nominated 63 persons to sit as members of the upper house²⁹. Among these were some of the old peers, and many of the representatives who had been chosen for the lower house. None of the peers who were summoned would condescend to take a seat among the new lords, except lord Eure; and Haselrig, with several others whom the protector had thought proper to ennoble, continued to sit among the commons. The members whom, at the commencement of the last session, he had arbitrarily excluded from the house, were now admitted to their seats, as the late instrument had declared such exclusions to be illegal. In consequence of the introduction of so many individuals who were disaffected to him, and of the removal of his chief adherents to the other house, he was deprived of the benefit of a majority among the commons. The latter treated the new assembly with great contempt, and refused to acknowledge it as a branch of the legisla-

28. Thurloe, vol. vi. — Whitelocke. 29. Parl. Hist. vol. x. i. p. 167.
ture.

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1658.

ture. They also testified an inclination to annul the instrument, and other acts of the preceding session, as having passed during the constrained absence of a considerable part of the house, and at a time when the remaining members were deterred, by the apprehensions of similar violence, from the free declaration of their sentiments. Cromwell was incensed at these proceedings, and alarmed at the prospect of the diminution, if not the loss, of his authority, from the disaffection of the present majority of the representatives, many of whom, he justly suspected, were engaged in a confederacy with his other adversaries. He therefore abruptly dissolved the parliament, that he might circumscribe the power of the malcontents within the bounds of private machination³⁰.

Feb. 4

Though his enemies were numerous, determined, and implacable, they were unable to accomplish his ruin. His vigilance detected their plots before they were ripe for execution; and he was so accurately apprised of their motions, that he held them, as it were, in a net. To prevent the propagation of mutiny through the army, he cashiered the most seditious of the officers, and supplied their places with more obsequious individuals. He imprisoned some of the leaders of opposition; he endeavoured to bring over others to his interest by conciliatory measures; and he sought to secure himself by balancing one party against another.

In expectation of an invasion of England from Charles, the friends of that prince renewed their intrigues for his service. But, before they had commenced the insurrection which they meditated, many

30. Whitelocke, p. 673.—Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 779, 781, 782.—Clarendon, vol. iii. — Warwick's Memoirs.

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June 8.

of them were seized. Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewett were condemned as traitors without a jury, and beheaded. Four other royalists were hanged for a concern in the same plot; and, these examples of severity being thought sufficient, the rest who were condemned to death were indulged with a remission of their sentence³¹.

In the midst of the alarms which Cromwell felt in his internal government, he derived some satisfaction from his exterior affairs. His forces acquired the applause of their allies at the siege of Dunkirk; and, under the conduct of Lockhart and Morgan, they contributed to the success of that well-fought battle which preceded the reduction of the place. The prince of Condé, who then co-operated with the enemies of France, had conducted the Spanish army to the relief of the besieged; but he was so bravely opposed by the confederates, that they obtained a complete victory over him. The dukes of York and Gloucester distinguished themselves in this engagement, and attacked their countrymen with great spirit. This discomfiture of the Spaniards accelerated the surrender of Dunkirk; and, when Lockhart demanded the execution of the treaty, that town was delivered up to the English by order of Lewis, to the great regret of that prince's subjects, who considered it as too important a cession³².

This success stimulated the ambition of Oliver to aim at further acquisitions on the continent; and it is highly probable that his efforts, and those of France, would soon have wrested the greater part of the Netherlands

31. Elench. Motuum, vol. ii. p. 398.—Whitlocke, p. 674.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

32. Thurloc, vol. vii. p. 148, 156, 174.—Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 502.
from

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from the house of Austria. But the hand of fate now arrested his career, and gratified his foreign foes by frustrating his schemes of conquest, and his domestic enemies by putting an end to his unpopular administration. He was seized with an indisposition, which, in the opinion of some, arose from, but which more probably was only augmented by, the anxieties of his mind. Certain it is, that the decline of his life was embittered with melancholy reflexions on his dangerous situation, and that he was enveloped in a constant mist of fears and perturbations. He dreaded a mutiny in his army; he apprehended insurrections from the different parties which he knew were hostile to his authority; and he was exposed to the daily terrors of assassination, which had been strongly recommended to the people as a meritorious act, when it should be exercised against a tyrannical usurper.

A slow fever at first attacked the protector; and a tertian ague followed. When his physicians despaired of his life, his chaplains flattered him with hopes of recovery, pretending that the Almighty, in answer to their prayers, had assured them of the speedy convalescence of their faintly master. Their peremptory declarations at length removed his apprehensions; and he spoke with full confidence of the certainty of his return to health. But the increasing violence of his disorder disappointed his sanguine hopes; and his dissolution visibly approached. Being requested by some of the members of his council to name his successor, he assented to the elevation of his elder son Richard. He expired on the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester; from which circumstance, as well as from a very violent tempest which arose on the same day,

Sept. 3.

various

A. D.
1658.

various conclusions were drawn by the superstitious³³.

This extraordinary man did not exhibit, in his youth, those distinguished abilities which he displayed in the sequel of his life. Both at school and at the university, he was generally considered as a youth of inferior parts, rather than of a promising genius; and, though he was active and lively in his recreations, his spirit did not seem to be accompanied with acuteness or perspicacity of intellect. Being indisposed to the pursuits of literature and science, he derived little benefit from academical education; nor does it appear that, though he afterwards became a member of a juridical society, he acquired much knowledge of the laws of his country.

When the public disorders had opened a wide field for his ambition, his latent abilities were roused into exertion; and he unfolded those blossoms of genius which ultimately gratified him with the fruits of sovereignty. His mind, though less cultivated than that of Cæsar, was as vigorous and decisive as that of the celebrated dictator. He possessed a considerable share of penetration; and no man ever discovered the characters and talents of individuals with greater sagacity of discrimination. While the purposes of others could not escape his intuitive keenness, his own views were so artfully disguised, that it was extremely difficult to fathom them. By the habitual exercise of deceit, and the frequent affectation of enthusiasm, he at length imposed on himself, and united the seemingly opposite characters of the hypocrite and the fanatic. By religious cant, and insinuating artifice, he duped the enthusiasts

33. Elench. Motuum, vol. ii. p. 413—417.—Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 505.—Thurloe, vol. vii.

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1658.

of the times, and acquired that exorbitant influence over a puritanical army, which encouraged him to push with vigor his ambitious aims, and enabled him to surmount the obstacles which opposed his career. His valor in the field, and his martial skill, were highly conspicuous; but his political intrepidity seems to have been even superior to his military courage. In one instance, however, he displayed less firmness and resolution than might have been expected from the daring violence of his spirit. We here allude to his desire of the crown, the assumption of which would not perhaps have been so dangerous as he imagined. His panegyrists may be inclined to attribute his renunciation of that scheme to his conviction of the baseness and perfidy of such a measure; but, on former occasions, he had proved himself callous to all honorable scruples. So inordinate was his ambition, that it over-balanced the obligations of faith, equity, justice, and humanity. The immolation of a royal victim, the seizure of the supreme power, and the open violation of those laws and liberties which he had professed to defend against the attacks of his sovereign, were so far from giving him the least compunction, that he even gloried in those unjustifiable deeds, and represented them as the dictates of a just Deity. The uneasiness which he felt towards the close of his life arose not from deliberate reflexions on his iniquities, but from a dread of the fatal effects of the embittered animosity of his numerous enemies.

In point of religion, he was a firm protestant; but to what sect he most adhered in his heart, it is difficult to determine. At one time he seemed to be a presbyterian; at another, an independent; and, during his protectorate, he was disposed to a revival of the episcopal order, to which he had before expressed a strong

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repugnance. In his negotiations with catholic princes, he was eager to serve the cause of the persecuted protestants in their dominions. The Huguenots and the Vaudois, in particular, derived some relief from his interposition.

As ambition was the cause of his deviations from rectitude, he was, in other respects, just, moderate, and humane. He was distinguished by temperance and sobriety; and he studiously discountenanced, throughout the nation, the opposite propensities. He was economical in his disbursements, and frugal in the maintenance of his court; but, when the occasion required, he did not disdain the magnificent appendages of state. He was occasionally liberal to his friends; and some men of learning participated of his bounty. He was courteous and affable, and sometimes ludicrously familiar; and he would give way to mirth even in the most serious conjunctures; for, in signing the sentence of regicide, he indulged himself (like Elizabeth at the sacrifice of the Scottish queen) in indecorous pleafantry. In the filial, conjugal, and paternal duties, he conducted himself with general propriety; and, indeed, as is the case with most usurpers, his private character was more estimable than his public one³⁴.

RICHARD

34. Cromwell was a descendant of a respectable family in Huntingdonshire, and was born in the capital of that county, in April, 1599; so that, at the time of his death, he was in the sixtieth year of his age. His first appearance in parliament was in 1627; but it was not till the eruption of the civil war that he attracted the notice of the public; and from that æra we have regularly traced the most memorable transactions of his life. By Elizabeth, the daughter of sir James Bourchier, (a woman of spirit and understanding, who is said to have encouraged him in his ambitious views), he had a numerous progeny. Some of his children died in their infancy; but the six following lived to years of maturity; viz. Richard, his successor; Henry, lord-lieutenant of Ireland

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RICHARD CROMWELL.

THOUGH the death of an usurper, whose fabric of tyranny was ill-cemented and unsound, seemed to prognosticate violent convulsions, an extraordinary tranquillity succeeded that event: but, from the clashing interests of parties, it was a calm from which a storm might be expected to follow. Richard was proclaimed protector of the three nations; and his accession seemed to meet with general approbation. The army and the navy of England recognised his authority; the metropolis readily submitted to him; and most of the counties, by congratulatory addresses, promised him their obedience and support. The army of Ireland, influenced by his brother Henry (whom his father had, in the preceding year, constituted lord-deputy of that state), acquiesced in his promotion; that of Scotland followed the same example; and the garrisons of Dunkirk and Mardyke swore allegiance to the new protector. His sovereignty was also acknowledged by the court of France, and other powers of the continent ³⁵.

With a view of supplying the deficiencies of the treasury, liquidating the debts contracted by Oliver, and providing for other purposes of expediency, Rich-

land; Bridget, the wife of Ireton and of Fleetwood; Elizabeth, who espoused John Cleypole, a member of Oliver's upper house; Mary, who married the viscount Fauconberg; and Frances, who became the wife of Robert Rich (grandson of the earl of Warwick), and afterwards of sir John Ruffel. He was interred with extraordinary pomp in the abbey of Westminster; but his body was taken up after the Restoration, ignominiously hung up at Tyburn, and then thrown into the earth, like that of a common felon.

³⁵. Whitelocke, p. 675, 676.—Clarendon, vol. iii.—Thurloe, vol. vii.

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ard convoked a parliament. That he might have a greater opportunity of influencing the elections, he deviated from the model recommended in the instrument of government, and restored to the decayed boroughs the privilege of sending members, while he reduced the representatives of counties to the same number which had prevailed in the times of monarchy. In the interval between his accession and the meeting of the legislature, the wheels of government moved with a degree of regularity, which induced the undiscerning to expect a long continuance of his sway.

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639.
Jan. 27.

At the meeting of the two houses (for the lords of Oliver's nomination resumed their seats), Richard complimented the memory of his father, and expressed his intention of maintaining the laws and liberties of the three nations, of promoting their external as well as internal interests, and of regulating his conduct by the advice of the parliament, under whose auspices both the chief magistrate and the people might be most safe and happy. He recommended a speedy payment of the arrears of the soldiery, a vigorous prosecution of the war with Spain, and a strict attention to the concerns of the allies of England, and to the general politics of Europe. The first bill which employed the deliberations of the commons, tended to the recognition of the right of Richard to the protectorate, and to the confirmation of the *petition and advice*. This bill produced frequent debates, which terminated in favor of the protector's title and authority, and of the parliamentary privileges of the upstart nobles³⁶.

During the session, the different parties were sedulously engaged in the promotion of their respective views. The royalists formed schemes of insurrection;

36. Whitelocke, p. 677.—Ludlow, vol. ii.—Thurloe.

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the republicans prepared for the expulsion of Richard from the sovereignty, and the complete revival of the commonwealth; the chief military officers aimed at the establishment of a stratocracy; and various plans of revolution were projected at this critical period, when the death of an able and spirited ruler had put the reins of government into the hands of an inexperienced and pusillanimous director.

The cabals of the army gave the greatest alarm to the protector. His brother-in-law Fleetwood, major-general Desborough, and Lambert (who had been cashiered by Oliver for opposing his views on the crown), fanned the flames of military faction, and menaced Richard with the loss of his authority. The commons, at his desire, prohibited the general meetings of the officers, who were highly incensed at this interference; and the reluctance testified by that house to a compliance with a remonstrance of the army, demanding a speedy payment of all arrears, as well as satisfaction in other points, contributed to bring affairs to a crisis. Fleetwood and Desborough repaired to White-hall, to confer with the protector on the aspect of the political horizon. The former assured him, that the nation would inevitably be re-engaged in a civil war, if he should not dissolve the parliament without delay. The latter intimated to him, that it was impossible for him to preserve the friendship both of the parliament and the army; that, by proceeding to a dissolution of the legislative body, he would have the soldiery at his devotion; and that, by refusing to take that step, he would entail on himself the vengeance of that formidable body, and would quickly be deprived of his power and dignity. The terrors of military resentment subdued the reluctance of Richard;

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and, being urged by the majority of his counsellors to comply with the desires of the officers, he dissolved the legislature by proclamation. From that moment he was no longer considered as protector; and the republican government was restored ³⁷.

Richard Cromwell was too much enervated by a facility of temper for the proper maintenance of the authority of chief magistrate, at a period so factious and disorderly as that in which he was called to the administration. He had neither the talents nor the ambition of his father; he was destitute of that energy of mind, and firmness of courage, which shone so conspicuously in the character of Oliver; and, though the good qualities of his heart rendered him the ornament of private life, and would, if they had been accompanied with spirit and fortitude, have done honor to the most dignified station, the want of those useful concomitants of sovereignty exposed him to the contempt of the public.

THE REPUBLIC.

THE officers now held frequent conferences on the important business of a settlement. Some of them were inclined to the exercise of that arbitrary sway which is so agreeable to military rulers; while others proposed a more regular administration, and recommended the re-establishment of that republican parliament which had been forcibly dissolved by Oliver Cromwell. This proposition was at length adopted, as it was concluded that the people would not submit

³⁷. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 515—517.—Whitelocke, p. 678.—Ludlow, vol. ii.

without great reluctance to the avowed tyranny of the army, but would more readily acquiesce in the ostensible sway of a parliament. A declaration was therefore issued by the council of officers, inviting those members who had continued to sit from the end of the year 1648 to 1653, to a resumption of their public duties. In consequence of this invitation, near 50 individuals of the independent party, attended by the old speaker Lenthall, resumed their seats in the chapel of St. Stephen; and these were gradually joined by others of the same stamp, so as to make the revived assembly consist of near 100 persons ³⁸.

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May 6.

This change in the government met with the acquiescence of general Monk, who, being commander in chief of the army in Scotland, and having a majority in the northern council of state, had the principal share in the administration of that part of the island. Being informed of the proceedings of the military junta in England, he and his chief officers addressed an epistle to that faction, expressive of "the greatest demonstrations of joy and gladness" at the revival of the commonwealth, and of their firm resolution of supporting that "glorious cause" against all opposers ³⁹.

The republicans were apprehensive that Henry Cromwell, who, by the wisdom and ability which he had displayed in the government of Ireland, had acquired great reputation and popularity, would exert himself in behalf of his brother, and strenuously oppose the subversion of the protectorate. But his ambition was not so strong as to precipitate him into a contest with that powerful party which had declared

38. Whitelocke, p. 678, 679.—Ludlow, vol. ii.—Parl. Hist. vol. xxi.

39. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 669, 670.

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itself hostile to Richard ; and he was prevailed on, by the expostulations and menaces of the republican officers, to relinquish all thoughts of resistance. Being ordered to resign his office, and return to England, he thought proper to comply ; and commissioners were appointed for the direction of Hibernian affairs ⁴⁰.

Soon after the long parliament had re-assembled, the officers presented an address, comprehending a series of demands, among which were the following : that the people should be governed by republican polity, without a single person or a house of peers ; that an indemnity should be granted to all persons who had been concerned in the different alterations of government for six years past ; that the royalists should be disabled from holding any office ; that the legislative power should be vested in the house of commons, and in a select senate, and the executive branch in a council of state ; that the debts of the two protectors should be paid ; and that liberal grants should be made to Richard and his mother. The house thanked the officers for their advice ; and, the address being afterwards debated, most of the articles were agreed to. With respect to Richard, it was resolved that he should immediately be required to sign a recognition of the present government. Having complied with that demand, he was indulged with an exemption from arrests ; and the house not only promised to discharge his debts, but engaged to make such additions to his private fortune as should make it amount to 10,000 pounds *per annum* ⁴¹.

The officers hoped that the parliament, from the united motives of fear and gratitude, would be obsequious to their dictates ; but, in this respect, they

40. Clarendon, vol. iii.—Thurloc, vol. vii.

41. Parl. Hist. vol. xxi.
were

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were disappointed. The leading members, unwilling to crouch to the army, influenced the house to take some steps for the diminution of military influence. It was voted, that vacancies in the army, as well as in the navy, should be filled up by the house, and that officers might be removed at the pleasure of that assembly; and, in the formation of the council of state, the majority of those who were selected were more inclined to serve the parliament than the army. The Wallingford-house party (for so, from their place of meeting, those officers were called who had effected the dissolution of the protectorate) felt great displeasure at the conduct of the members whom they had restored, and resolved to embrace the first opportunity of testifying their resentment ⁴².

The recall of the republican parliament was far from being acceptable to the generality of the nation. The iniquities and oppressions of which that body had been guilty were remembered with indignation; and the dread of renewed tyranny affected the feelings of the public. The royalists were strongly inclined to rise against their present rulers; and the presbyterian party, incensed at the non-admission of those members who had been secluded in 1648, resolved to join the cavaliers in attempting to shake off an odious yoke. The chief friends of the exiled prince had, for several years, composed a private committee; and some of them had constantly resided in the neighbourhood of London, watching every opportunity of promoting the royal interests, and maintaining a frequent correspondence with the dispersed adherents of Charles. These individuals, encouraged by the want of harmony between the house and the military faction, were now extreme-

⁴². Ludlow, vol. ii.—Warwick's Memoirs.

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ly active in strengthening their party; and insurrections were meditated in various provinces. It was resolved to attempt the seizure of many of the principal towns; and, in case of the success of these enterprises, Charles, and the duke of York, engaged to transport themselves to England, and co-operate with their armed friends. But the treachery of Sir Richard Willis, who had long been trusted with all the secrets of the royalists, and who, having occasionally communicated them to Cromwell, now imparted them to the new governors of the state, roused all the vigilance of the parliament, and baffled the schemes of the malcontents, many of whom, before the day appointed for the revolt, were apprehended and imprisoned. Some parties, as soon as they had reached the place of rendezvous, were dispersed by the troops of the government. Tempestuous weather, and the dread of being betrayed, deterred others from adhering to their engagements. Sir George Booth, however, found an opportunity of gaining possession of Chester; but he did not long retain his capture; nor was he able to reduce the castle. Lambert, who, on the deposition of Richard, had been restored to his military rank, was commanded by the council of state to march against the insurgents with all possible expedition. He surprised Booth and his followers in the neighbourhood of Northwich; and, by a vigorous attack, totally defeated his adversaries, who were inferior to his troops both in number and discipline. The engagement was so short, that only 40 of the revolters lost their lives: indeed, it was rather a rout than a battle. Lambert then advanced to Chester, which was quickly surrendered to him. Sir George fled from the town in the habiliments of a female; but he was discovered, and sent prisoner to the metropolis.

The

The earl of Derby and many other royalists were taken in their flight; and a complete dissipation of the rest of the party ensued ⁴³.

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The insurgents would have been gratified with the co-operation of admiral Montague, had not the activity of the government suppressed the commotions before the return of that gallant officer from the Baltic. He had been sent out by Richard in the spring with a considerable fleet, to over-awe the Swedes into a peace with the Danes, and check the encroaching ambition of Charles Gustavus. The French and Dutch being engaged in the same mediation, the Swedish monarch was constrained to abandon his schemes of conquest, and submit to terms of accommodation. Before this prince consented to a peace, Montague's eagerness to promote the restoration of monarchy, that the wounds of the constitution might be healed, induced him to return to England with the fleet, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Algernon Sydney, and of the other commissioners whom the parliament had sent to the Sound to conduct the mediation. Finding, on his arrival, that the revolt was suppressed, and that the prisons were filled with mal-contents, he deferred the avowal of his sentiments. Being examined by the council of state, he gave a plausible vindication of himself, and was therefore suffered to remain at liberty, though he was deprived of his employment ⁴⁴.

The authority of the parliament seemed now to be firmly established. Triumphant in its success, that assembly now prepared an act for the sequestration of the estates of those who were concerned in the revolt; another for the exaction of a monthly tax of 100,000

43. Whitelocke, p. 683, 684.—Clarendon, vol. iii.—Ludlow, vol. ii.
—Carte's Original Letters, vol. ii.

44. Carte's Letters, vol. ii.—Thurloc, vol. vii.

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pounds from the three nations ; and a third for the adjustment of such a plan of government as should be best calculated for permanency ; besides other bills both of general and particular expediency. But their schemes were frustrated by the ambition of Lambert, and the turbulence of his military associates. By the influence of that intriguing commander, a petition was drawn up by his officers, and presented to the parliament.

Sept. 27. The demands which it contained, and which related to particular promotions, to privileges of the army, and to political points, were rejected by the house ; and Fleetwood, who had been appointed commander in chief on the dissolution of the protectorate, was ordered to take measures for repressing the licentious spirit of the soldiery. But he was too subservient to the counsels of Lambert, to pay strict obedience to the house on

Oct. 5.

this occasion. Another petition was soon after presented by Desborough, from the general council of officers, making such requisitions as would have rendered the army too independent of the parliament. After some debates on these proposals, the house resolved that the most obnoxious of the officers should be cashiered ; and this stigma was inflicted without delay on Lambert, Desborough, Cobbett, Ashfield, and five others. Fleetwood was deprived of the chief command of the army ; but he was permitted to retain some share in the direction of that body, in conjunction with Ludlow, Monk, Haselrig, and three other commissioners ⁴⁵.

Oct. 13. The spirit of the house roused the indignation of the degraded officers, and accelerated the execution of their ambitious schemes. Lambert posted the soldiers

⁴⁵ Whitelocke, p. 685, 686.—Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 541, 542.—Parl. Hist. vol. xxi.

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of his party in the streets leading to Westminster-hall; stopped the speaker and other members in their way to the house; and thus put an abrupt end to the session without the effusion of blood; though strong parties both of foot and horse had been stationed near the hall, with orders to oppose the violent measures of the mal-content officers⁴⁶.

In consequence of these proceedings, warm debates occurred in the council of state, the cause of the parliament being maintained by Haselrig, Bradshaw, and others, while Lambert, Desborough, and Sydenham, strenuously supported the pretensions of the army. The latter faction proved too powerful for the parliamentary phalanx; and it was agreed, that the council of officers should provide for the preservation of the public peace, and the settlement of the government. Fleetwood was now restored to his command; and Lambert accepted the dignity of major-general. The sovereignty of the state was conferred on twenty-three individuals⁴⁷, who received the aggregate title of the *committee of safety*. Six members of this new assembly were ordered to devise the best form of republican polity for the three nations; but, from the arbitrary inclinations of Lambert, it was evident that such a government would be chosen as should appear most likely to perpetuate the tyranny of the army. It is said, that it was his intention to take violent measures for disabling the royalists, and that he had even formed the resolution of putting the leaders of that party to death⁴⁸; but it is improbable that he would have proceeded to that sanguinary extremity.

Suspicious being entertained of general Monk by the military faction, colonel Cobbett was sent to Scot-

46. Whitelocke, p. 686.—Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 723—726.—Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 543.

47. Whitelocke, p. 687.

48. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 407.

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land to inform him of the late change, and desire his assent to it. He was also instructed to form a party among Monk's officers, and seek an opportunity of seizing the general, if he should not be disposed to comply with the wishes of the new rulers. Before the ejection of the parliament, Monk had been solicited to concur in the projects of Lambert; but, being desirous of checking the dangerous ambition of that officer, he refused to co-operate with him, and signified his determination of supporting the parliament against the violence of the confederate officers. Hence arose the eagerness of that junto to secure one whose influence over the northern army rendered him a formidable adversary⁴⁹.

At what time Monk conceived the idea of restoring monarchy in the person of Charles, is uncertain. He had served the father of that prince against the Irish rebels, as well as against the parliamentarians of England; and, while he underwent that tedious confinement which was the consequence of his captivity in the battle of Nantwich, he had repeatedly rejected the proposals that were made to him for engaging in the service of the king's enemies. At length, however, he had consented to accept a commission from the parliament against the Hibernian catholics, who were deemed rebels by both parties. When he had thus acknowledged the authority of the parliament, his loyalty was not sufficiently strong to induce him to decline the service of the prevailing faction, when he was commanded to turn his arms against the royalists, as well in Ireland as in Scotland. In the latter of those states, he had for several years administered the government with prudence and equity, and had rendered himself very

49. Dr. Skinner's Life of General Monk.

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popular both among the natives and his own soldiers. His power and interest had drawn the attention of the proscribed king, who, reflecting that the general was unstained with that deep tinge of guilt which had blackened the regicides, and that he had engaged with reluctance against the royal party, conceived a flattering prospect of success from an application to him. A letter was therefore written by Charles to Monk, soliciting his assistance, with promises of ample rewards and eternal gratitude; and Sir John Grenville, and other relatives and friends of the general, were requested to exert all their influence over him in the cause of unfortunate royalty. He received these applications with a seeming indifference, which rendered his compliance doubtful; and, from the time of his preparing to march with his army into England, to his demand of a free parliament, it was supposed by many that he aimed at the elevation of himself to the supreme power, rather than at the restoration of the house of Stuart. But his character does not appear to have been of that ambitious complexion which would justify us in attributing such a scheme to him, when the circumstances of his conduct, notwithstanding his cautious reserve and dissimulation, more obviously pointed to the service of the absent prince. He lamented the situation of his country, in being exposed to the tyranny of successive factions, and to the confusions of an unsettled government; and being convinced that the majority of the people ardently wished for the recall of Charles, and the revival of monarchical administration, he resolved to become subservient at once to their wishes, and his own inclinations as well as interest, by embarking in the cause of the king and the constitution. This intention he, in all probability, formed soon after
the

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the death of Oliver Cromwell, when the prospect of the factions which the weakness of Richard would encourage, rendered such a measure peculiarly desirable.

Monk had no sooner been apprised of the expulsion of the *rump* parliament, than he sent three epistles to London, addressed to Fleetwood, Lambert, and the late speaker, warmly reprobating the proceedings of the army, and declaring that he and his forces would quickly endeavour to restore the assembly which had been so illegally dismissed. He made immediate preparations for an expedition into England; cashiered such of his officers as were well affected to Lambert; secured Cobbett, the envoy of the faction; courted the assistance of the army in Ireland; and took every measure both of policy and spirit which he deemed conducive to the accomplishment of his important purpose.

Alarmed at his behaviour, the committee of safety dispatched two agents to soothe him, and request him to listen to terms of accommodation. From a desire of gaining time, he agreed to the commencement of a treaty; and three of his officers were sent to London as negotiators. They signed some articles, which he thought proper to disclaim; and the treaty was then resumed. Lambert, in the mean time, was at the head of an army in the north of England, greatly superior in number to the forces of Monk; but his former spirit and vigilance seemed to have deserted him. If, instead of being amused by the pretences of his opponent, he had crossed the Tweed, and entered upon an engagement, he would probably have defeated or dispersed the foe: but he was unwilling to risque a battle while there were hopes of an amicable determination. He had not sufficient confidence in his soldiers, who

were

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were far from being unanimous in his cause, and were discontented for want of money, which the military cabal had been unable to procure from the people ⁵⁰.

The chief members of the discarded parliament were not inactive at this crisis. Haselrig, Morley, and Walton, secured Portsmouth, and held it in the name of that assembly. Fleetwood sent a body of forces to attempt a recovery of the town; but the greater part of them joined Haselrig, who was likewise reinforced from other quarters. The inhabitants of the isle of Wight avowed the same interest; and Lawson (who had succeeded Montague in the command of the fleet), being influenced by the suggestions of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper (afterward earl of Shaftesbury), resolved with his officers to support the parliamentary cause, which was also adopted by the regiments that were stationed in the environs of London, and by one which Lambert sent back from the north to counteract the operations of his enemies ⁵¹.

In different counties, the royalists endeavoured to kindle insurrections, which, however, the partisans of the government crushed in their infancy. In the metropolis, the cavaliers were also active; but their conspiracies were unsuccessful. The citizens frequently assembled in considerable bodies, and expressed, with vehemence and ardor, their desire of a new and free parliament, by which the disorders of the nation might be healed ⁵².

The public distractions and discontents gave visible uneasiness to the committee of safety, and the general council of officers; and, after frequent consultations, it was resolved that a new parliament should be sum-

50. Skinner's Life of Monk.—Clarendon.

51. Clarendon, vol. iii.—Whitelocke, p. 691, 692.—Ludlow, vol. ii.

52. Whitelocke.—Clarendon.—Dugdale.

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moned, with a view of allaying the odium attendant on military sway. Fleetwood was advised by Whitelocke (who, though no friend to the army, had accepted a share in the new government) to embrace the royal cause, and to anticipate the intentions of Monk by inviting Charles to the throne, to which the majority of the people were inclined to call him. Sensible of the perils of his situation, he was disposed to an adoption of this advice; but was dissuaded from it by some of the republican leaders, who strongly remonstrated against a measure which would ruin their hopes and endanger their persons. He had too little firmness and vigor for the post which he held; and his propensity to fanaticism increased his inability. He had neither the spirit requisite for the maintenance of his usurped power, nor sufficient judgment to direct his conduct amidst the difficulties with which he was environed. At length he listened to the counsels of those who recommended a new parliament; and directions were given for that purpose; but the opposite party prevented the execution of his schemes⁵³.

Dec. 26.

The regiments which had lately espoused the cause of the republican parliament, desired Lenthall to resume the office of speaker, and re-assemble the dispersed members. He complied with the invitation; and the assembly quietly entered upon the national business. A committee was immediately appointed for the direction of the army; the forces under Lambert were ordered into different quarters; the proceedings of general Monk were honored with a vote of approbation; and thanks were given to Haselrig and his associates, as well as to Lawson and his officers. To twenty-one members, and ten other individuals, the authority of a coun-

53. Whitelocke, p. 692.—Dugdale.

cil of state was granted. The excise and other imposts were renewed; and various regulations were revived⁵⁴.

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The orders of the parliament, accompanied with a promise of favor to all who should submit by a certain day, occasioned the speedy retreat of almost the whole number of Lambert's soldiers, many of whom had before deserted him. This discouraging circumstance induced him to send to the house a letter of submission; and he was soon after commanded to confine himself, as were also his principal officers; but not strictly regarding that injunction, he was sent prisoner to the Tower⁵⁵.

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As the ostensible purpose of Monk's march was to restore the parliament which the army had expelled, the re-establishment of that assembly by the regiments which had revolted from the committee of safety, rendered it necessary for him to allege other pretences for the prosecution of his enterprise, after he had received from the speaker an intimation of that occurrence. But this intelligence arriving before he knew of the total dispersion of Lambert's army, he had a plausible excuse for proceeding to the southward; and, when all the forces had submitted to the parliament, the expediency of assisting the house in the complete adjustment of the affairs of the nation, that the tranquillity which had been so lately restored might be permanent, afforded him a pretence for conducting his troops to London, without a precipitate disclosure of his intentions for the service of Charles.

When Monk had reached York, he had an interview with lord Fairfax, who had lately raised a body of provincials in the name of the parliament, and who now

54. Whitelocke, p. 693, 694.—Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 551; 552.—*Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii.

55. Whitelocke.—*Parl. Hist.*

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1660.

solicited him to make an immediate declaration in the king's behalf; but the cautious general rejected this counsel, from an apprehension that such a measure would tend to unite the different parties against him, before he had so far strengthened himself as to defy their attempts. During his march, the house, desirous of securing his attachment, of which some doubts were entertained, voted him an estate of the annual value of 1000 pounds. For the purpose of watching his conduct, and discovering his secret purposes, Scot and Robinson were ordered to attend him as parliamentary deputies. Though they pretended that they were only sent to congratulate him, and do him honor, he was sensible that they were employed as spies; and he endeavoured to delude them into the belief of his affection for the republican cause. As he moved towards the capital, he received numerous addresses, requesting him to use his interest for a free parliament. Being closely watched by the two deputies, he affected to be displeased with the purport of these applications; but his dissimulation did not prevent the public from entertaining strong hopes of the loyalty of his intentions⁵⁶.

Feb. 3.

The general, on his arrival at St. Alban's, sent a letter to the house, desiring that the troops then quartered about the metropolis might be removed to make room for his forces. Though the jealousy which the leading members had conceived of him rendered this an unpleasing request, they thought proper to comply with it; and he soon after entered the city with his army, which consisted of less than 6000 men. He then retired to White-hall, where he received frequent visits from persons of all parties. Being introduced into the house, he was thanked in form for his services;

56. Skelmer's Life of Monk.—Clarendon.—Carte's Letters.

and he then addressed the assembly in terms that were not calculated for the full developement of his schemes ⁵⁷.

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1660.

Among the bodies of people who had petitioned Monk in behalf of a free parliament, the inhabitants of London had particularly distinguished themselves. The corporation of that city had twice sent deputies to him during his progress, strongly urging him to gratify the wishes of the public. Trusting to his support, the citizens voted in common-council, that they would not pay any taxes which might be demanded of them, without the sanction of a legitimate parliament. Exasperated at this instance of contumacy, the house resolved to adopt a spirited measure, which, while it should inflict chastisement on the delinquents, might serve as a test of Monk's fidelity. He was directed to reduce the city to perfect obedience, and had particular instructions to apprehend eleven of the most turbulent citizens, take away the posts and chains from the streets, and destroy the gates and portcullises. Concluding that these severe measures, by increasing the odium which attended the arbitrary remnant of the long parliament, would promote the success of his own projects, he strictly obeyed the commands of the house ⁵⁸, to the astonishment of those who had flattered themselves with better hopes, as well as of those who had doubted his zeal for the commonwealth. His subsequent conduct revived the declining hopes of the former, and dissipated the rising confidence of the latter.

Feb. 9.

He and his chief officers addressed an epistle to the house, complaining of various particulars, and requiring that writs might be speedily issued for supplying the

Feb. 11.

57. Whitelocke, p. 696.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

58. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 557.—Whitelocke.—Skinner.

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great deficiency in the number of the members, and that an early period might be unalterably fixed for the dissolution of the assembly. Though this letter filled the republicans with disgust and indignation, they dissembled their resentment, and gave a favorable answer to it. While they were discussing the purport of it, Monk and his military friends were diffusing through the city the agreeable intelligence of his resolution of promoting the election of a new parliament. In a speech to the assembled magistrates and corporation, he apologised for his late compliance with injurious commands; excused the coolness and reserve with which he had treated their applications on his march, being forced (he said) "to step backward like a fencer, "to make the better guard, and the more advantageous assault;" and declared his intention of co-operating with them, instead of acting as the minister of the vengeance of others against them. His declarations were received with the general applause of his auditors; all the bells of the city were afterwards rung; and the populace testified their joy by bonfires, about which they assembled in great multitudes, celebrating the praises of Monk, and hailing the approaching expiration of an odious junto⁵⁹.

The council of state, of which Monk had been chosen a member, invited him to return to his quarters at White-hall; for his residence in the city gave great dissatisfaction to the republicans, conscious as they were of the loyalty which then animated the breasts of the majority of the inhabitants, who repented of their former connexions with the democratic faction. Finding that mild courses had no effect in bringing him to a concurrence with the present government, the leaders

59. Bishop Kennet's Register, p. 58.

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used all their efforts to strengthen their party. As the anabaptists, fifth-monarchy men, and other fanatics, suspected Monk's inclinations for serving the cause of Charles, they were greatly incensed against him; and the parliament took this opportunity of distributing a considerable quantity of arms among them, that they might co-operate with the regular troops in opposing those designs which menaced the republic with ruin. Monk, in the mean time, was putting the militia of London under such officers as he could trust; and, from the influence and resources of a flourishing metropolis, with which he had now formed a strict union, while he could also depend on the support of the bulk of the nation, he had little doubt of the success of his schemes, notwithstanding the efforts of that numerous army which professed an adherence to the interests of the parliament.

While a bill was under discussion for regulating parliamentary elections, in which it was provided that all the friends of monarchy should be disabled from electing or being elected, various conferences took place between Monk and those members who had been secluded before the trial of the late king; and, at his desire, twelve of them had a formal interview with ten of the sitting members. The latter demanded such conditions as the others were not inclined to accept; nor were the terms such as were satisfactory to the general and his officers. After further deliberation, Monk resolved to restore the secluded members to their seats, with a proviso that they should consent to the speedy dissolution of the parliament, and adjust the meeting of another within two months. He commanded his guards to conduct them to the house, where, under his auspices, they obtained that re-admission

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Feb. 21.

Mar. 16.

mission which they had long fought in vain. As they formed a majority, they immediately annulled the votes which had passed against them; abrogated the late regulations respecting the election of representatives; appointed Monk commander in chief of all the forces of Great-Britain and Ireland, and, in conjunction with Montague, admiral of the summer fleet; released Sir George Booth and the prisoners of his party, whose estates they also restored; put the militia into respectable hands; vacated all orders for swearing fidelity to a republic; and nominated a new council of state for the government of the nation. Then, in compliance with the desires of their restorer (to whom, instead of the late grant, they voted 20,000 pounds), they ordained, by a bill, the dissolution of the long parliament, and the meeting of a new one at a limited time, to the extreme disgust of the republicans and fanatics, and the extraordinary satisfaction of the rest of the nation⁶⁰.

During these transactions, the heads of the republican faction had occasionally met in secret council, to deliberate on the critical situation of affairs. Some were advocates for violent proceedings against Monk: others, deluded by his dissimulation, recommended a patient expectation of the result of his schemes. The latter proposition was adopted; and no steps were taken for re-assembling the scattered forces, till the augmented strength of the opposite party rendered the success of measures utterly improbable.

When the re-admission of the secluded members had almost annihilated the hopes of the republicans, some of them were inclined to tempt Monk, by liberal offers, to follow the example of Cromwell, and assume

60. Whitelocke, p. 698—700.—Kenner's Register.

the sovereignty of the three nations⁶¹; for, notwithstanding their prejudices against any government which partook of the nature of monarchy, they were so averse to the idea of refunding the spoils of the royalists, and so alarmed at the danger to which their lives would be exposed by the triumph of that party, that they deemed the appointment of a new protector preferable to the restoration of the royal line. But the general was deaf to all overtures of this kind; and he resolved to settle the government on a more constitutional foundation.

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Monk now made use of his authority for putting the army into such a form as would be most subservient to his purposes; and his endeavours were so successful, that, when Lambert escaped from the Tower, and courted his old confederates to oppose the prevailing interest, the efforts of this enterprising officer could only assemble a very inconsiderable body, with which he was compelled to submit to the superior force of colonel Ingoldesby⁶². The quick suppression of this revolt, which, had it not been speedily counteracted, might have proved dangerous, invigorated the hopes of the cavaliers, and strengthened the authority of the new directors of the nation.

Apr. 22.

After a long exile, and a succession of disappointments, Charles now began to entertain confident hopes of recovering the throne of his progenitors. Since his alliance with the Spanish court, he had principally resided in the Netherlands, waiting for an opportunity of joining his adherents in England. When the courts of France and Spain, after a long war which contributed to the aggrandisement of the former, had opened those negotiations which terminated in the treaty of the

61. Skinner's Life of Monk.

62. Whitelocke, p. 701.—Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 563.

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Pyrenees, he formed the resolution of repairing to the place of conference, that he might personally solicit the aid of the contracting parties. Cardinal Mazarine, unwilling to offend the English parliament, refused even to receive a visit from the royal exile; and, though Don Lewis de Haro, the prime minister of Spain, treated Charles with politeness and generosity, his journey was unproductive of that effect which he wished, as vague promises of assistance were substituted for positive engagements. Resigning the hopes of procuring effectual succour from either of those powers, he returned to his obscure court of Brussels, where the intelligence of Monk's proceedings gave him some gratification, though the silence and dissimulation of that general kept him in a state of suspense. But, when he heard of the determination of calling a new parliament, and learned the result of a conference between Monk and Sir John Grenville, in which the former avowed his loyal intentions, the king's doubts were removed. At the desire of Monk, he sent over from Breda a declaration, addressed to his subjects in general, in the hope of conciliating their full submission to his authority. In this manifesto, he promised pardon to all who, within forty days, should declare their submission to him, except such as the legislature should deem undeserving of forgiveness; signified his desire of obviating the scruples of tender consciences, by indulging his people with a freedom of religious opinion; referred to the parliament the settlement of all disputes respecting grants and purchases of confiscated estates; and expressed his readiness to satisfy all arrears due to the officers and soldiers under Monk, and to receive them into his service, on terms equally advantageous with those which they then enjoyed⁶³.

63. Clarendon, vol. iii. — Parl. Hist. vol. xxii.

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The parliamentary elections were so favorable to the restoration of monarchy, by falling on a majority of persons who were desirous of that event, that every one foresaw the issue of the approaching assembly. The peers took this opportunity of returning to their house, from which the encroaching spirit of the democratic party had so long excluded them. They appointed the earl of Manchester to be their speaker ; while the commons filled their chair with Sir Harbottle Grimston. No motion was made by either house with regard to Charles, till Sir John Grenville presented to each an epistle from that prince, accompanied with the above-mentioned declaration. These communications were received with general satisfaction, and were answered by letters of cordial thanks. Both houses then declared, that, " according to the ancient and fundamental laws " of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, " by king, lords, and commons." Charles was soon after proclaimed " king of England, Scotland, France, " and Ireland," with a joy proportioned to the melancholy retrospect of republican tyranny. The ministers of all the churches were ordered to pray for him and his relatives ; and a public thanksgiving was celebrated on this joyful occasion ⁶⁴.

Apr.

May 1.

May 8.

It was the wish of many of the presbyterian members, that conditions, similar to those which had been extorted from the first Charles in the treaty of Newport, should be imposed on his son before his admission to the exercise of the regal functions. Prudence seemed naturally to suggest, that some useful concessions should be required of him ; but those which were exacted from the late king in that negotiation were too unfavorable to the lawful authority of the monarch. The

64. Whitelocke, p. 701—703.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

present

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present fervor of loyalty, however, rejected the coolness of a deliberate contract; and the two houses, content with the offers which were contained in the king's declaration, sent over commissioners to Holland, to present their answers to Charles, and solicit his speedy return to his parliament and people ⁶⁵.

Amidst these changes in England, the friends of Charles had been diligently employed in Scotland and in Ireland. The attachment of the generality of the Scots to monarchy prompted them to wish for the restoration of a prince whom nothing but the superior power of the English republicans had compelled them to renounce. They were therefore disposed to rejoice at the proceedings of Monk; and, when he threw off his republican mask, the Scottish nobles and gentry engaged with alacrity in the royal cause. Some of them suggested the propriety of binding Charles by conditions; but, to the regret of the nation, that expedient was not adopted. With regard to Ireland, both catholics and protestants were, for the most part, inclined to the king's interests; and the influence of lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote (who were afterwards earls of Orrery and Montrath) brought over the army to the same sentiments. The republican commissioners being removed by force, a convention was summoned, which terminated in the establishment of Charles on the throne of Ireland ⁶⁶.

Having received at the Hague the congratulations of the English deputies, and the more substantial compliment of 50,000 pounds, which had been voted to him by the parliament, the king prepared for his voyage. He embarked at Scheveling in one of the vessels of Montague's fleet, accompanied by his two brothers. On his

65. Burnet's Hist. of his own Time.—Kennet's Register.

66. Clarendon, vol. iii.—Kennet's Register.

landing

landing at Dover, he was received by general Monk, whom he eagerly embraced as his friend and restorer. At Canterbury he conferred various dignities on those who had distinguished themselves by their exertions in his behalf. Among other promotions, he admitted Monk into the privy council, honored him with the order of the Garter, and rewarded him with the mastership of the horse; and further gratified him by conferring on his friend Morice the office of secretary of state. He entered his capital on his birth-day, at the completion of the thirtieth year of his age. His procession through the city was uncommonly magnificent; and his people received him with the loudest acclamations and the most extravagant joy. The lords and commons visited their sovereign on his arrival at Whitehall; and, by the medium of their respective speakers, expressed all the warmth of exultation and all the enthusiasm of loyalty. He promised, in return, to consult the happiness of all his subjects, and maintain their religion, laws, and liberties ⁶⁷.

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1660.
May 25.

May 29.

67. Whitelocke, p. 703, 704.—Kennet's Register.—Parl. Hist.

C H A P. III.

C H A R L E S II.

Charles consents to an act of indemnity;—from which some of the regicides are excepted.—The fifth-monarchy men rise in arms;—but they are soon quelled.—Episcopacy is restored;—and the dissenters are harassed.—The king contracts a matrimonial and political alliance with the court of Portugal.—He sells Dunkirk to the French.—He enters into a war with the Dutch.—The French and the Danes commence hostilities against the English.—A considerable part of London is destroyed by fire.—The Dutch make great havock among the shipping at Chatham.—A peace is concluded at Breda.

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1660.

THE restoration of monarchical government, and the revived hopes of constitutional liberty, after a series of usurpation and tyranny, filled the nation with transport. The beams of royalty, more resplendent from the long absence of their lustre, dissipated the clouds of republican despotism, and opened the pleasing prospect of mild and regular government. The engaging manners of the young monarch pleased all who approached him; the reputation of his clemency and humanity allayed the apprehensions even of his most rancorous enemies; and it was hoped that the lessons of adversity had made such an impression on his mind, as would prompt him to avoid the political indiscretions of his father, and maintain inviolate the rights of the people, the preservation of which would form the best security for his own privileges.



Hand f.

CHARLES II.



A. D.
1660.

In the distribution of honors and offices, Charles was desirous of testifying his impartiality. Instead of confining them to the constant friends of his family, he promoted several individuals who had strenuously opposed the late king. The earl of Manchester was introduced into the privy council, and appointed chamberlain of the household: lord Say and Sele, lord Roberts, Holles, and others of the same party, were gratified with a share in the government. Of the professed royalists, those who were principally favored were the following: Sir Edward Hyde, who was confirmed in the post of high chancellor, which he had for some years enjoyed in the continental court of Charles; the earl of Southampton, who, after the treasury had been eight months in commission, obtained the sole direction of it; the marquis of Ormond, who became steward of the household; and Sir Edward Nicholas, who had served Charles I. as secretary of state; an office which he now held, in conjunction with Monk's friend Sir William Morice¹.

Besides the favors which Monk had already received from the king, he was confirmed in the command of the forces of the three kingdoms; appointed one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and one of the commissioners of the treasury; created duke of Albemarle, and gratified with a settlement of 7000 pounds *per annum* out of the royal demesnes². He bore his good fortune with humility and moderation; and it was justly observed by Charles, who called him his political father, that "the duke of Albemarle demeaned himself in such a manner, to the prince whom he had obliged, as never to seem to over-value the services of general Monk."

1. Kennet's Register, p. 167.

2. Skinner's Life of Monk, chap. xxvi.

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1660.

An act of oblivion and indemnity employed the early deliberations of the legislature. Frequent debates occurred with regard to the exception of notorious delinquents from the indulgence of pardon; and the progress of the bill was thus rendered very slow, though the king repeatedly desired that it might be expedited.

Aug. 29.

The individuals who were excepted from the general purport of it (Ludlow, Scot, Lambert, Vane, &c.) amounted to fifty-one, being such as had judicially condemned the late king, or had otherwise taken an active part in the proceedings against him and his family. Desborough, Sydenham, St.-John, Lenthall, and several others, particularly those who had passed sentence of death in the late high courts of justice, were precluded from the benefit of the act, if they should ever accept any office³.

The attention of the parliament was also directed to the settlement of the revenue. In lieu of the profits arising from wards and liveries, it was resolved that 100,000 pounds *per annum* should be settled on the king. Tonnage and poundage, and one half of the excise, were granted to him for life; while the other moiety of the latter (out of which the above-mentioned compensation was to be paid) was assigned to the crown *in perpetuum*. It was voted that the revenue should be

Sept. 4.

augmented so as to amount to the annual sum of 1,200,000 pounds; but the final adjustment of this point was deferred. For the present supply of the sovereign, 70,000 pounds were voted. Other sums were granted towards the payment of the arrears due to the army and navy; and it was resolved that the former should be speedily disbanded.

It was apprehended by many, that the judicial decisions which had been pronounced in the times of usur-

3. Parl. Hist. vol. xxii.—Kennet's Register.

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1660.

pation would have been annulled by the loyal zeal of the parliament. But the fears of individuals on that head were removed by an act which confirmed the sentences of the courts of law and equity. This statute, however, did not preclude the restitution of the lands of the crown, of those of the church, or those of the proscribed royalists. Many of these sufferers were now, by particular acts, restored to their possessions. When the two houses had beneficially employed themselves for several months, they agreed to an adjournment for some weeks ⁴.

Sept. 13.

As it was not the wish of Charles to continue that war in which Cromwell had involved the nation, even if the king of Spain had not made peace with Lewis XIV. he issued a proclamation, intimating that there was now a perfect peace between him and the former of those princes. Philip made a similar declaration, and sent an ambassador (as did several other European powers) to congratulate Charles on his restoration. In the midst of these congratulations, the king's joy was greatly damped by the death of his brother Henry, duke of Gloucester, who fell a victim to the small-pox, in the twenty-first year of his age. This prince was beloved and esteemed by his relatives and by the public, as a youth of talent, spirit, and virtue. Soon after this domestic loss, Charles received a visit from his sister the princess of Orange; and, in the same autumn, his mother returned to England after an absence of above sixteen years, in company with her daughter Henrietta, who was married in the sequel to the duke of Orleans. The princess of Orange did not long survive her voyage; for the small-pox put an end to her life before the expiration of the year. The commons had voted 10,000

4. Parl. Hist. vol. xxii.

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1660.

pounds to this lady, and made the same present to her sister. The latter, to the great regret of Charles, who had a strong affection for her, returned to France in the winter with the queen-mother⁵.

Oct. 10.

In the interval between the adjournment and the next meeting of the two houses, some of the regicides suffered the punishment due to their treason. Of those delinquents, though so many were excepted from the act of indemnity, only twenty-eight were brought to the bar. They were tried before select commissioners, and found guilty; but only ten were executed. These were, major-general Harrison, Thomas Scot (one of the leading members of the republican parliament), Hugh Peters (a seditious preacher), Coke, Clement, Carew, Scrope, Jones, Axtell, and Hacker. Harrison was an illiterate enthusiast, of low extraction; but of a firm undaunted spirit, which defied the terrors of death. He exulted in that deed which was imputed to him as a crime, and represented it as a striking instance of divine justice. Most of his colleagues were equally inclined to justify the deed, particularly Scot and Peters. But the latter, though he gloried in the act, dreaded the fate which awaited him for his concern in it. The rest encountered their fate with the courage of martyrs, regardless of the insults and execrations of the populace, from whom few sufferers ever met with less commiseration⁶.

Nov. 6.

When the parliament re-assembled, a bill was brought in for the settlement of the militia; but, after some debates, it was postponed. Further supplies were granted; the post-office was established; some useful regulations were enacted with respect to various articles

5. Kennet's Register, 12 Car. II.

6. Kennet's Register,
Oct. 1660.—Ralph's Review of the Reign of Charles II.

of traffic; and an act of attainder was voted against Oliver Cromwell and other regicides. With an absurd affectation of revenge, the two houses decreed that the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, should be disinterred, hung up at Tyburn, and then thrown into the earth, except the heads, which were ordered to be fixed on the top of Westminster-hall⁷.

A. D.
1660.

Though this parliament had been so favorable to the king, yet, as the majority of the members were of the presbyterian party, and still cherished such principles as were not perfectly agreeable to his political and religious views, he resolved to put an end to its existence. Having given his assent to the bills that were ready, he dissolved the assembly with a complimentary harangue, in which he desired "that this might be for ever called the healing and the blessed parliament⁸."

Dec. 29.

A week had scarcely elapsed from the dissolution of the legislature, when an insurrection happened in the metropolis: Venner, the fifth-monarchy zealot, whose enthusiastic and seditious discourses had inflamed his senseless followers with the hopes of overturning the restored constitution, and establishing the dominion of the saints, sallied from his conventicle at night with about sixty armed fanatics, and endeavoured to procure a reinforcement in the city. These insurgents slew a poor man, who, when interrogated by them, had declared that he was "for God and king Charles;" then forcing their way through a body of the London mi-

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1661.

Jan. 6.

7. Parl. Hist. vol. xxiii.

8. The lord-chancellor Hyde, in the speech which he addressed to the two houses at the dissolution, made mention of a plot for the revival of the republic. Several disaffected persons were seized on suspicion, and committed to prison; but there seems to have been no real foundation for the belief of such a conspiracy.

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Jan. 9.

litia, they retired towards Hampstead. Not discouraged, they marched back to the city in two divisions, and re-commenced their frantic enterprise. One party advanced into Cornhill; and a skirmish ensued in that neighbourhood between these enthusiasts and the militia, the result of which was the dispersion of the former. Venner, at the head of the other division, paraded for some time about the streets. At length about twenty of the horse-guards met him in Wood-street, and were opposed by him and his associates with the most determined intrepidity. The militia seconding the efforts of the guards, Venner retreated with his party into a house, which he obstinately defended, till his adversaries forced a passage into it from the roof. Some of his followers were slain in the conflict; and himself and others were severely wounded. He was soon after tried and condemned to death, which he suffered with great fortitude. Twelve of his men were also executed, though it would have been more proper to have confined them as lunatics⁹.

All the forces were by this time disbanded, except one regiment of infantry and one troop of cavalry: but this insurrection afforded a pretence for the maintenance of a standing army. The undischarged soldiers were now ordered to continue in the king's service; and some additional bodies were raised without delay¹⁰. Amidst the warmth of loyalty which inspired the nation, few murmurs arose in consequence of these irregular proceedings.

Three days after the dismissal of the English legislature, the parliament of Scotland met, with the per-

⁹ James the Second's Memoirs of his own Life, MS. quoted by Macpherson.—Kennet's Register.

¹⁰ Memoirs of James II.—Burnet's Hist. of his own Time.

A. D.
1661.

mission of Charles, who was unwilling to continue his northern kingdom in a servile dependence on that of England. The Scots were so pleased with the re-establishment of monarchy, that they made great concessions to their sovereign. They augmented his revenue, and restored the prerogative to its former extent. They testified the extravagance of their loyalty, by rescinding all the proceedings of those parliaments and conventions which had been holden since the year 1633¹¹. This precipitate measure, of which the nation had cause to repent, removed many useful limitations of royal authority, and led the way to a series of oppressions.

As the Scots had been deeply engaged in the late commotions, it was thought necessary to offer some victims to constitutional justice. The marquis of Argyll was selected as the most criminal of the nobles; James Guthry, a minister of the kirk, was marked out as the most obnoxious of the clergy; and Gouan, an officer who had deserted the royal army for that of Cromwell, was destined to atone for military delinquency. Argyll was condemned as a traitor, and beheaded at Edinburgh. Guthry and Gouan were soon after hanged¹².

The great alterations which had taken place in Ireland during the triumph of the republican party, rendered the settlement of that kingdom a work of no small difficulty. The adventurers and soldiers among whom the extensive property of the catholic rebels, as well as of the protestant royalists, had been divided, were too powerful to be easily compelled to resign their acquisitions; and, as they had readily concurred

11. Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

12. Id. *ibid.*—Kennet's Register, 13 Car. II.

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1661.

in the king's restoration, though they had long been his enemies, they merited some indulgence from his gratitude. His friends, on the other hand, expected a restitution of their lands; and the papists, since their agreement with the marquis of Ormond in 1649, considered themselves as deserving of that appellation, and as entitled to that indemnity which the treaty promised, though they had paid little regard to their stipulations of assistance. Amidst the clashing interests and strong remonstrances of the ejected claimants and the present possessors, Charles and his counsellors were greatly perplexed. Various schemes of adjustment were proposed and rejected; and above two years elapsed from the Restoration before the bill of settlement was enacted; and this was found to require subsequent explanations, which greatly delayed the important business of accommodation. The new occupants of the lands were prevailed on to relinquish a part of them; and, from the ceded districts, added to some lands that were yet undivided, and the confiscated estates of the most criminal of the king's enemies, his protestant friends, and such of the catholics as were unconcerned in the rebellion of 1641, obtained a retribution which allayed their discontent¹³.

- That convention which, by restoring the monarchical system, disclaimed the republic under which it had been convoked, was now succeeded by a regular parliament, summoned by the royal writs. In the interval,
- Ap. 23. Charles was crowned at Westminster with great pomp. The two houses having assembled, he expressed
- May 8. his confidence of their cordial co-operation with him in every measure which might promote the peace and

¹³. Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. book vi.—Lord Clarendon's Life, written by himself.

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1661.

prosperity of the nation ; proposed two bills for a confirmation of all the acts of the convention ; and intimated the conclusion of a treaty for a matrimonial connexion between him and the infanta Catharine, daughter of that duke of Braganza who had wrested the crown of Portugal from the hands of Spain.

By the lucrative offers of the court of Lisbon, strengthened by liberal promises from the French monarch, Charles had been induced to agree to a match with the infanta, whose portion was to consist of 300,000 pounds, besides the town and fortrefs of Tangier on the coast of Barbary, and the isle of Bombay in India. In consideration of these and other advantageous proposals, he consented to furnish a small body of troops for the defence of Portugal against the Spanish arms. The respective parliaments of the three kingdoms signified their approbation of this alliance ; and admiral Montague, now earl of Sandwich, was sent out with a fleet to escort the infanta to England, as well as for other purposes of expediency ¹⁴.

The majority of the new legislators were not, as in the late convention, of the presbyterian party, but were as strongly inclined to episcopacy as to the high claims of monarchy. By various acts, they re-established the authority of the crown, and the privileges of the church of England. They sat above two months ; and then July 30. adjourned till the beginning of the winter.

At the next meeting of the parliament, the king requested a speedy supply for the payment of those debts which he had contracted for public purposes. A bill was therefore introduced, granting 1,260,000 pounds for his present relief, to be raised within the space of eighteen months. Of the other bills that were enacted at this time, the most important were, an act for regu- Nov. 20. Dec. 20.

¹⁴. Kennet's Register.

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lating corporations¹⁵, and one for preventing causeless arrests and frivolous suits. When the two houses re-assembled after a short recess, Charles endeavoured to alarm them with reports of the dangerous machinations of the republicans and fanatics, who aimed at the destruction of the monarchy and the church. The chancellor (who had been lately promoted to the dignity of earl of Clarendon) exaggerated these conspiracies, with a view of justifying those additional precautions which he deemed necessary for the support of the regal and episcopal authority, but particularly of the latter.

The earl of Clarendon was attached to the church of England from principle, and was confirmed in his regard for it by the consideration of the mischiefs which had arisen from the turbulence of the sectaries in the late reign. He therefore wished to confine all the enemies of the restored church within strict bounds, that they might have fewer opportunities of renewing those intrigues which had already proved so pernicious. Though the presbyterians (who were the most numerous of the dissenters) had been highly instrumental in the king's restoration, the earl was more inclined to remember their former delinquency, and provide against a return of it, than to reward their late services by that toleration which they, in their prosperity, had refused to others. The heads of this sect had maintained a

15. It was required by this statute, for the repeal of which the dissenters have frequently struggled in vain, that no person should be elected to any office in a corporation, unless he should have received the eucharist, within the preceding twelvemonth, according to the rites of the church of England, should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, disclaim the covenant, swear that it was unlawful to take arms against the king on any pretence whatever, and signify an abhorrence of the "traitorous position of taking arms by his *authority* against his *person*, or against those commissioned by him."

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public conference, in the preceding year, with the principal divines of the episcopal church, in the hope of adjusting their differences; but these disputations are rarely productive of any other effect than that of widening the breach. This conference, far from moderating the acrimony of the partisans of the church, did not prevent them from adopting a resolution of treating their adversaries with the severities of intolerance. Under the auspices of lord Clarendon and the restored bishops, a bill of uniformity was brought into the house of peers; and the zeal of the majority carried it through both houses.

The purport of this bill was, that no person should possess any benefice, unless he had received holy orders from a bishop; that it was also necessary, by way of qualification for such preferment, to assent to every particular contained in the book of common prayer, take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the covenant, and renounce, without reserve, the idea of taking arms against the king. Though Charles had promised, in his declaration from Breda, that "no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom," he gave his assent to the bill of uniformity, which the casuistry of his ministers represented as strictly consistent with his promise. Of those who had obtained ecclesiastical preferments before his return, near 2000 (it is said) thought proper to resign, rather than comply with the terms of the act; and some of the chief presbyterians refused to accept bishoprics and other dignities that were offered them as the price of their conformity. No provision was made for the maintenance of those whom this statute ejected; a severity which exceeded that of queen Elizabeth

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zabeth and of the parliamentary party, who allowed a fifth part of the revenues of the benefice to such ecclesiastics as were deprived for refusing to conform to their respective institutions ¹⁶.

In this session, the business of the militia was revived; and the royal authority was strengthened by an explicit declaration, importing that the king was entitled to the sole and supreme power over that body, and over all forces by sea and land, and that it was unlawful for both or either of the houses of parliament, or any of his majesty's subjects, to levy war, offensive or even defensive, against his person or his authority. A bill to this effect was enacted; and all officers and soldiers were obliged to swear to the observance of it.

Among other public statutes, some were enacted for the encouragement of commerce and manufactures, for preventing the licentiousness of the press, for the better relief of the poor, &c. The pecuniary acts were for the distribution of 60,000 pounds (out of the last assessment) among the indigent cavaliers, for levying an annual tax on hearths, and for settling the revenue according to the late resolution.

- May 19. The king now prorogued the parliament; and immediately repaired to Portsmouth, to meet the Portuguese infant, whom the earl of Sandwich had brought in safety to England. He was first married to her, according to the Romish ritual, by his mother's almoner; and afterwards, with the English forms, by the bishop of London ¹⁷. Her person being unattractive, and her

¹⁶. Kennet's Register.—Burnet.—The commencement of the operation of this act was fixed for St. Bartholomew's day; whence it was called the Bartholomew act; and the incensed non-conformists affected to compare the ruin of their conscientious brethren to the massacre of Paris, which happened on the same festival in the year 1572.

¹⁷. Life of James II.

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1662.

disposition fretful and melancholy, she never acquired the love of Charles; and, though his amorous complexion, and his laxity of morals, would doubtless have rendered him inconstant even to the most beautiful and amiable of wives, Catharine's want of charms hastened his breach of the nuptial vow. He indulged himself in the impure luxury of promiscuous concubinage; and, though, for some time, he observed secrecy in his amours, he gradually threw off all restraint, and held, as it were, a court in the apartments of his mistresses, whose influence over him tended to the disgrace both of himself and of the kingdom.

The earl of Sandwich, in the course of his voyage, had sailed to the coast of Barbary, with a view of intimidating the piratical states into a peace. The Algerines rejecting his overtures, he commenced hostilities against them ¹⁸, and burned some of their ships; but he met with so warm a reception from the forts and batteries near their capital, that he thought proper to retire to Lisbon, leaving vice-admiral Lawson with a part of the fleet to block up the harbour of Algier. He afterwards sailed to Tangier, of which he and the earl of Peterborough (who had been appointed governor of it) took possession in the name of their sovereign ¹⁹. Returning to Lisbon in the spring, the admiral received the infant and a part of her portion; and while he was employed in conducting her to the dominions of her destined husband, Lawson constrained the Algerines to submit to a peace. In the following autumn, the vice-admiral brought the states of Tunis and Tripoli to terms of accommodation; but these treaties were not so strictly observed as to prevent the necessity of other expeditions in this reign for the chastisement of the African pirates ²⁰.

18. In July, 1661.

19. In January, 1662.

20. Kennet's Register, ad annos 1661 et 1662.

A. D.
1662.

Before the prorogation of the parliament, more blood was shed in expiation of the death of Charles I. Corbet, Okey, and Berkstead, who had signed the warrant for the execution of that prince, were apprehended in Holland by the treacherous vigilance of Sir George Downing, who, though now the king's resident in that country, had formerly been a confederate of their faction. They were immediately sent over to England, condemned as traitors, and executed at Tyburn. Two other individuals who had been excepted from the act of indemnity, were tried during the recess : these were Sir Henry Vane and major-general Lambert. The convention had requested the king, that the lives of these two delinquents might be spared, as they were not in the list of the immediate murderers of his father ; and he had promised to comply with that request. But, when the new house of commons had petitioned for the trial of those great offenders, who were both found guilty of high treason, Charles disregarded his promise with regard to Vane, and issued a mandate for his execution ²¹.

Sir Henry Vane was distinguished by his great abilities and extraordinary penetration, which, however, did not prevent him from being misled by the delusions of enthusiasm, or from yielding up his understanding to the reveries of religious absurdity. In politics, he was a strong republican : in religion, he leaned to the doctrines of the independents. As he had greatly contributed to the death of the earl of Strafford, had been deeply engaged in those measures which led to the sacrifice of Charles, and still cherished those violent anti-monarchical principles which were particularly obnoxious, at this period of loyalty, to the majority of the

21. Kennet's Register.

nation, his fate was not the object of much regret. He intended to have delivered a long harangue on the scaffold to the assembled people ; but the king, apprehensive of the impression which might be made by the final address of so able and eloquent a criminal, directed that his voice should be drowned by the noise of drums and trumpets ²² ; an illiberal practice, which, though it shortened his observations, did not diminish his firmness and composure.

A. D.
1662.
June 14.

The behaviour of Lambert at his trial was so modest and submissive, while that of Vane was of a contrary tenor, that Charles listened to the advice of those who recommended the condemned general to his mercy. He obtained the indulgence of a reprieve ; but was subjected to perpetual confinement in the island of Guernsey. He was a brave and skilful officer ; ambitious, vigilant, and enterprising ; and far from being deficient in sagacity or understanding ²³.

Notwithstanding the supplies which the king had received, he was still in a necessitous condition, from the pressure of his old debts, and his want of oeconomy. He therefore formed the resolution of selling Dunkirk to the French. The commons had lately proposed that this acquisition should be annexed for ever to the crown ; but, that step not having been taken, Charles, who affected to consider it as his own property, meanly determined to surrender it for his own temporary benefit. Though the earl of Clarendon, in one of his parliamentary speeches, had spoken in high terms of the importance of the place, representing it as " a jewel of immense magnitude in the royal diadem ;" and had observed that whoever murmured at the great expence of maintaining it, did not remember what we

22. Burnet.—Kennet.

23. He survived his trial above thirty years.

A. D.
1662.

had lost by it, and should always lose, if it were in an enemy's hands; yet this minister, when he found his sovereign strongly inclined to the sale of it, supported the measure in the privy council, and was himself the negotiator of the contract with the count d'Estrades, the French ambassador. By the terms of the agree-

Oa.

ment, Lewis consented to pay seven millions of livres²⁴ for the surrender of the town and citadel of Dunkirk, and the fortress of Mardyke, and of all the artillery and military stores which they contained; and Charles engaged to defend those places by sea against the attempts of an enemy, for two years after the treaty. This sale met with the general disapprobation of the public; and no small odium fell on the chancellor for his concern in so inglorious and mercenary a transfer²⁵.

Near the close of this year, the court spread an alarm of a formidable conspiracy of the republican party. Many individuals were seized on suspicion; six obscure persons were tried and sentenced to death on a charge of having conspired against the king; and four of them were executed²⁶.

A. D.
1663.
Feb. 18.

When the two houses again met, the king made some remarks on a declaration which he had issued in favor of nonconformists. He justified it by the public promises which he had made at Breda, and by those principles of humanity which required the exercise of indulgence towards those conscientious persons who were

24. Though this sum (at ten-pence halfpenny for each livre) amounts only to 306,250 pounds, Hume and Macpherson have extended it to 400,000 pounds, and others to 500,000; and, if the bargain was really settled at 5,000,000 livres (as we are informed by d'Estrades) notwithstanding the letter of the treaty, the statements of those writers are still more beyond the line of accuracy.

25. Lettres du Comte d'Estrades.

26. Kennet's Register, Dec. 1662.

A. D.
1662

not inclined to conform to the established religion. He therefore hoped that no objections would be made to his dispensing with the penalties enacted against dissenters of every denomination. The real views of Charles were quickly suspected; and it was concluded, that, as he had contracted an affection for popery during his residence on the continent, it was his wish to introduce a toleration which might include the catholics. Such a measure, however, was the object of general abhorrence. The odium under which that sect had long labored, was yet unallayed; and even those who would have rejoiced at a toleration of protestant dissenters were extremely averse to the extension of favor towards the virulent enemies of the reformed faith. The present parliament did not wish for the encouragement of either; and the king, who, instead of being influenced on this occasion by his prime minister Clarendon, had issued the late declaration by the advice of the friends of popery, thought proper to desist from the prosecution of a scheme which had aroused the jealousy, and excited the opposition, of his legislative subjects²⁷.

Being urged by the king to grant a fresh supply, and to provide against the failure of the funds assigned for his revenue, the commons voted four subsidies, and prepared bills for the better collection of the excise and other duties. Charles was also gratified with a supply from the clergy assembled in convocation.

The chancellor, whose influence was now on the decline, was exposed to an attack, in this session, from the personal resentment of George earl of Bristol, who, though he had long been on amicable terms with Clarendon, renounced the friendship of that minister on account of some differences of opinion, and of the re-

27. S. Parkeri Comment. edit. 1726, p. 55, 56.—Burnet, vol. i.

A. D.
1663.
July 10.

fulal of favors which he had solicited. Inflamed with inconsiderate animosity, Bristol adduced, in the upper house, a charge of high treason against the chancellor; but the articles were so absurd and inconsistent, that they were rejected by the lords, and reprobated by the king; and the accuser, filled with confusion and chagrin, disappeared for some time from the public scene ²⁸.

July 27.

After an uninteresting session of above five months, the parliament was prorogued till the next year. Before the prorogation, intelligence arrived of an important victory, to which the valor of the English had greatly contributed. The Spaniards having made great progress in Portugal, the forces of the latter kingdom, ably supported by about 3000 men whom Charles had sent to join them, engaged the enemy near Eborá, and obtained a decisive advantage ²⁹.

Oct.

The supposed machinations of the republican malcontents produced a new alarm in the autumn of this year. It was pretended by the court, that schemes had been formed for the seizure of the king's person, and for a general insurrection. Many suspected persons were apprehended in Yorkshire; twenty-one were pronounced guilty by a jury; and most of these were put to death ³⁰.

A. D.
1664.
Mar. 21.

In the first harangue which Charles pronounced in the next session of parliament, he adverted to this conspiracy, and affirmed that it was not yet fully suppressed, as the malcontents were still engaged in seditious consultations. Some of them, he said, wished to revive the long parliament; while others, alleging that the present parliamentary assembly had exceeded the time

28. Burnet, vol. i.—Ralph's Review of the Reign of Charles II.

29. Golbatch's Account of Portugal.

30. Park. Comment.—Ralph.

A. D.
1664.

of sitting fixed by the triennial act of the late reign, proposed to elect new members without delay. He then expressed his disapprobation of that useful statute, and even declared that he would never suffer a parliament to be assembled by the means which that act prescribed. The two houses obsequiously complied with his desire of it's repeal; and, for those strong securities which it provided against the neglect of the sovereign with regard to the calling of parliaments, they were content to substitute a new bill, declaring, in general terms, that those assemblies should not be discontinued above three years.

In this session, some steps were taken towards a war with the Dutch. Various circumstances concurred to produce a rupture between them and the English. Charles, being desirous of obtaining the office of stadtholder for his nephew William, prince of Orange, that his own influence in Holland might be the more considerable, was eager to counter-act the interest of John de Wit, the celebrated pensionary, who bore the chief sway in the republic, and who warmly opposed the pretensions of the young prince. He was also jealous of the great increase of the trade of the Dutch, and was disgusted at that encroaching spirit which they had ever shown where their commercial interests were concerned. But these considerations, though reinforced by the hope of an opportunity of applying to his own use a part of the supplies for which a war would give occasion, would not have precipitated a prince of his inactive temper into hostilities, had not the persuasions of his brother the duke of York, and the general inclinations of his people, urged him to a rupture. The duke, who paid great attention to commerce, sought to circumscribe that of the Dutch; and being a bigoted catholic, and a friend to the high

A. D.
1664.

claims of monarchy, he wished to humble a protestant republic. The merchants made frequent complaints of the encroachments of the Hollanders in both hemispheres; and the public, remembering the massacre at Amboyna, and resenting the subsequent injuries and insults offered by a rival nation, called for vigorous measures and warlike enterprises.

Though Charles had concluded a treaty with the states-general in 1662, the injuries and depredations which had been sustained by the English for several years prior to that agreement, were now stated as the chief grounds of hostility; from which we may conclude, that, though the cry for war was so general, justice was less regarded than national rivalry and animosity. The Dutch remonstrated against the futility of the pretences for a new war, and endeavoured to dispose Charles to an accommodation; but they took care, at the same time, to provide for those extremities into which their neighbours were inclined to rush.

The duke of York, who filled the station of high admiral, and who, as governor of the African company, wished to engross the trade of Guinea, had sent captain Holmes to that coast, to seize some forts to which the English had pretensions. That officer not only expelled the Dutch from the forts which they had wrested from the English, but dispossessed them of several settlements to which his countrymen had no just claim. Sir Richard Nicholas, sailing to America, demanded and obtained the surrender of *Nova Belgia* (since called, from the duke's title, *New York*) from the Dutch colonists of that country, which the English claimed by right of discovery. Incensed at these proceedings, the states-general ordered de Ruyter to make reprisals. This experienced commander quickly
re-established

re-established the affairs of the Dutch in Africa; then crossing the Atlantic, cannonaded the forts in the island of Barbadoes; and, in the course of his voyage, captured many English vessels³¹.

A. D.
1654.

The parliament, before these hostilities of de Ruyter, had voted, that the wrongs, dishonors, and indignities, offered to his majesty by the subjects of the United Provinces, and the damages, affronts, and injuries, done by them to our merchants, were the greatest obstructions to all foreign trade. Charles, in answer to an address of the two houses on this head, expressed his desire of preserving the freedom of commerce, and the dominion of the seas; and promised to take the most effectual steps for preventing a repetition of those acts of violence and insult of which they complained. Having given his assent, among other bills, to a severe act against conventicles, he prorogued them for several months. He then made great preparations for a naval war; and, by the next meeting of his parliament, had equipped a respectable fleet. On the mere report of de Ruyter's destination, he ordered a general seizure of Dutch vessels. About 135 were quickly taken; but they were not condemned as prizes till certain information had been received of the hostilities committed against the English by that admiral³².

May 17.

The king having desired an ample supply for the purposes of the war, the zeal of the commons induced them to gratify him with a vote for raising 2,477,500 pounds in three years. The clergy, instead of continuing their custom of making a separate grant to their sovereign, were now, with their own consent, included in the general assessments of the people. Find-

Nov. 24.

31. Vie de M. de Ruyter.—Life of James II.

32. Ralph's Review of the Reign of Charles II.

A. D.
1664.

ing that greater sums were expected from them than would be imposed on them if they should bear their proportion with the rest of the community, they relinquished the privilege of taxing themselves. A moiety of their last grant was, on this occasion, remitted to them ; and, in consequence of this change, all occupants of benefices were allowed to vote in parliamentary elections ³³.

A. D.
1665.

War being declared, and the parliament again prorogued, the duke of York sailed in the spring with 98 ships of war, and steered towards the Texel ; but he was soon compelled by unfavorable weather to return into port. Having resumed his voyage, he met the Dutch fleet, consisting of above 100 men of war (smaller than those of the English) under the command of the baron of Opdam. The chief officers under the duke were prince Rupert, the earl of Sandwich, Sir John Lawson, Sir William Penn, and Sir George Aylcough. The principal assistants of Opdam were Cortenaer, Evertzen, and Cornelius van Tromp, son of the celebrated Martin van Tromp. The engagement which now ensued was obstinately maintained by both parties, till the ship of the Dutch admiral blew up; an accident which occasioned the loss of that gallant officer and near 500 of his countrymen. This calamitous event struck the Dutch with consternation : they soon after fled, and were pursued by the English till night. If the victors had not neglected the advantage which they had gained, they might have captured or destroyed the greater part of the hostile fleet ; but they suddenly slackened sail, in consequence of instructions given by Brouncker, a pusillanimous attendant of the duke, who dreaded a renewal of the fight ³⁴. His

June 3.

33. Bishop Kennet's *Life and Reign of Charles II.*

34. *Life of James II.*

A. D.
1665.

master peremptorily declared that no such orders had been issued by him; and, as veracity was one of the virtues of this prince, we may reasonably credit his declaration, particularly as the courage which he displayed on this as well as on other occasions, must supersede the idea of his being deterred from a prosecution of the victory by unmanly apprehensions of the reviving spirit of a fugitive enemy.

This conflict (which happened near Southwold bay, Suffolk) was attended, on both sides, with a considerable effusion of blood. About 200 persons were slain in the duke's ship; and it is remarkable that the earl of Falmouth, the lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot, while he was so near them as to be sprinkled with their blood and brains. The earls of Portland and Marlborough, rear-admiral Samson, and several captains, also lost their lives in the action; and the brave Lawfon received a wound in his knee, which carried him off before the end of the month. In the whole fleet, about 500 were slain, and 700 wounded. Above 5000 of the Dutch were slain or taken; and twenty of their ships were captured or destroyed, while the English lost only one vessel³⁵.

When the duke returned to London to enjoy the congratulations of the court and city, the command of the fleet was given to the earl of Sandwich, who, after the performance of necessary repairs, again put to sea. He wished for an opportunity of intercepting de Ruyter in his return to Holland; but that admiral escaped the search of his enemies. An agreement having been made between Charles and the king of Denmark (Frederic III.), for the seizure of all Dutch vessels which should put into the ports belonging to the latter, the

35. Lord Clarendon's Account of his own Life.—Life of James II.
—Vie de M. de Ruytér.

A. D.
1665.

Aug. 2.

earl detached Sir Thomas Tiddeman with a squadron to Bergen in Norway, to attack the Dutch East-India fleet, and other mercantile vessels, which, on the invitation of Frederic, had taken refuge in that port. The English and the Danes seem to have been respectively desirous of engrossing the booty to themselves, instead of sharing that moiety which was assigned to each by the agreement. Tiddeman eagerly assaulted the Hollanders; but, from the obstinate intrepidity of their defence, and the obstructions thrown in his way by the governor of Bergen, who suffered them to reap the benefit of the castle, and to erect batteries, he was obliged to retire with no small loss. His Danish majesty, repenting of his meanness, dismissed the Dutch ships after the retreat of the English; and, though he concluded, in the autumn, a league with Charles against the states-general, he entered at the same time into an opposite confederacy, by engaging to join the states against the English monarch. He immediately seized all the English vessels that were in his ports, and imprisoned those subjects of Charles who were then in his dominions³⁶.

The king of France had contributed to the conclusion of the Danish treaty with Holland; and being himself bound to that republic by a late convention, he prepared to oppose the English. He had sent ambassadors to mediate a peace between this nation and the Dutch; but his interposition was fruitless. Charles was extremely desirous of procuring the assistance, or at least the neutrality, of Lewis, that he might be enabled to annihilate the power of the states; and, to win that prince to his interest, he offered to promote his views for the reduction of the Spanish Netherlands. But Lewis rejected this attractive offer, from an idea of

36. Ralph's Review, p. 117—120.—Burnet, vol. i.

the impolicy of suffering Charles to acquire that great increase of maritime power and commercial importance which he would derive from the ruin of the Dutch ³⁷.

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1665.

The repulse at Bergen was soon compensated to the English by valuable captures. The earl of Sandwich, cruising in the German ocean, took four men of war from the Dutch, and two of their principal East-India ships, with other traders, though not without the loss of one of his own vessels. A few days afterwards, additional prizes, consisting of four Dutch ships of war, and many merchant-men, rewarded the vigilance of the English.

Sept. 4.

The parliament, after several prorogations, met at Oxford, as that city was free from the ravages of the pestilence which had broken out in London in the preceding spring ³⁸. Fresh supplies were voted to the king, to the amount of 1,250,000 pounds; and the services of the duke of York were requited with a present of 120,000 pounds. This liberality was accompanied with an intolerant spirit in the two houses; by whom an oppressive act was now prepared against the dissenting ministers, who were prohibited from coming (except on the road) within five miles of any place where they had preached since the act of oblivion, unless they should swear to observe the doctrine of non-resistance, and not to attempt any alteration either in the church or the state. Having been before ejected and silenced, they were now forbidden to approach the scenes of their former connexions.

Oct. 9.

Against Holland, France, and Denmark, with which powers Charles was now at war, he had no other ally

37. Lettres du Comte d'Estrades.

38. Above 68,000 persons, in London and its environs, were carried off by the plague in the last eight months of this year; but the contagion made little progress in the provincial districts.

A. D. 1665. than the warlike bishop of Munster, who invaded the Dutch territories with 16,000 men. The Hollanders at first made little resistance; but, being reinforced by a body of French, they were enabled to stop the career of the prelate, who, finding a want of punctuality in the payment of the subsidy which Charles had promised him, and being menaced by the friends of the Dutch with an invasion of his own principality, at length desisted from his hostilities against them.

A. 1666. The fleets of the French and Dutch being expected in the channel, the navy of England prepared to encounter them. Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle were intrusted with the joint command of the fleet, which consisted of near eighty sail of the line. To prevent a junction between the fleets of France and Holland, the prince, with a detachment of twenty ships, sailed in quest of the duke de Beaufort, who commanded the former; while his colleague watched the motions of the Dutch. De Ruyter, who had succeeded Opdam in the chief command, was at the head of ninety-one ships, containing, on the average, about fifty-two guns to each. The duke of Albemarle no sooner perceived the approach of the enemy, than he hurried to an engagement with all the impatience of a youthful warrior, though he was in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Regardless of that considerable diminution of his force which the separation of Rupert had occasioned, he bore down upon the Dutch, who were then near the coast of Flanders; and they readily accepted the challenge. Had the duke never been before in action, his behaviour on this day would have raised him to reputation. He exerted himself with the most distinguished gallantry and resolution; and his officers in general, but particularly Sir William Berkeley and Sir John Harman,

June 1.

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Harman, signalised themselves by their valor. But the superior number of the Dutch gave them the advantage, though many of their vessels, as well as those of the English, were considerably injured. The next morning, the battle was renewed; and it was contested for many hours with great eagerness and ability. Van Tromp, emulous of his father's renown, rushed with his squadron into the midst of the enemy, whose admiration he excited by his efforts of courage and skill; but he was at length reduced to extremity, when he was seasonably relieved by de Ruyter. A reinforcement which the Dutch received during the combat enabled them to press the English with such vigor and effect, that the duke found it expedient to retire. The exulting foe pursued him; and, in the afternoon of the following day, made so near an approach, that Albemarle resolved, instead of continuing his retreat, to rush with desperate fury on his adversaries, and perish rather than yield himself a captive. At this crisis, prince Rupert appeared with his squadron; and, his harassed friends eagerly steering towards him, some of their ships struck on a sand-bank, from which, however, they escaped, except the Royal Prince (the largest vessel in the whole fleet), which, being unable to extricate itself, surrendered to the Dutch, who, having made admiral Ayscough and the crew prisoners, set fire to it. On the ensuing day, the united English squadrons gave battle to the enemy; and both sides fought with amazing obstinacy, till a thick mist, rising before sun-set, concurred with the shattered state of the contending fleets to produce the retreat of both. Though the Dutch gained the advantage on the two first days, yet, on the fourth day, the victory, far from being, as they pretended, completely on their side, seems rather to have fallen

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fallen to the English; or, at least, it was undecided. In the different engagements, twelve of the Dutch ships were sunk or burned, and many others were disabled. Seven of the English vessels were taken, more were burned or sunk, and some were so much shattered, that the duke himself ordered his men to set fire to them. The aggregate loss of men exceeded 5000. The chief Englishman who fell was Sir William Berkeley, vice-admiral of the white; and the principal Hollanders who lost their lives were admiral Cornelius Evertzen and vice-admiral Van-der-hulst ³⁹.

July 25.

The hostile fleets again met in the succeeding month. The Dutch were strongly desirous of being joined by the French, before another engagement should take place; but they were not so fortunate as to meet with the navy of their allies. They were attacked by the English, between the coast of Kent and that of Flanders, with nearly equal numbers; and the valor of the two nations again shone forth with distinguished lustre. Sir Thomas Allen, with the white squadron, engaged the van of the Dutch, commanded by John Evertzen, whom, with two other flag-officers, he killed. Having totally routed that division of the enemy, he joined the red squadron, which, under the immediate conduct of prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, had opposed itself to de Ruyter and his main body. Here the conflict was particularly obstinate; and the contending admirals eminently displayed their intrepidity and address, and their strong desire of supporting the honor of their respective nations. Van Tromp, at some distance, was engaged with the blue squadron, of which Sir Jeremiah Smith had the direction. After a combat of six hours, de Ruyter found himself so roughly

³⁹. Life of Lord Clarendon.—Vic de M. de Ruyter.—Skinner's Life of General Monk.

handled,

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handled, that he commenced a retreat, which, however, he conducted with great order. Van Tromp at first gained some advantage over Smith; but the latter at length prevailed over him. The English, till the afternoon of the next day, followed their adversaries, who kept up a brisk cannonade till the victors desisted from the pursuit. Several of the Dutch ships were burned or sunk during the engagement; and two were taken in their flight, which were immediately consigned to the flames. The English lost only one vessel, which was destroyed by a fire-ship; and their loss was small in point of men, compared with that of the Dutch ⁴⁰.

The fleet of the vanquished party being soon refitted, de Ruyter again set sail, in the hope of meeting with the French squadron. Perceiving the English fleet in the channel, he declined an engagement, and retired into a French harbour. A violent indisposition soon after seized him; a circumstance which, added to the consideration of tempestuous weather, induced the states to recall their navy. The duke de Beaufort, who had at length arrived at Dieppe, no sooner heard of the return of the Dutch into their own ports, than he made full sail to Brest, dreading an attack from the English, who had only an opportunity of capturing one of his ships ⁴¹.

At the close of the summer, a very destructive fire Sept. 2.
broke out in the English metropolis. As it arose soon after midnight, in a narrow lane, consisting (as, indeed, did the greater part of the city at that time) of houses

⁴⁰. Skinner's Life of Monk.—Vie de M. de Ruyter.—Ralph's Charles II.—Soon after this battle, Sir Robert Holmes burned two Dutch ships of war, and above 100 merchant-men, near the isle of Vlie; and made a descent on the neighbouring island of Schelling, where he set fire to the principal village. *Kennet*.

⁴¹. Ralph, p. 135.

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of wood and plaister, a violent easterly wind also prevailing, great havock was quickly made. The efforts made for the extinction of the flames were long unavailing. The engines were too few, and too ill supplied with water, to be of much service. Houses were pulled down, and great intervals made, without effect; for the flames seized the timber and rubbish, and passed through those spaces into other streets. The king, the duke of York, and many of the nobility, personally attended; and endeavoured to compose the minds of the suffering citizens, and discover the best means of stopping the course of the conflagration. Notwithstanding every attempt of that kind, it raged without intermission for three days. On the fourth day, it relaxed in its fury; and, on the fifth, it was extinguished. It fortunately happened, that not a single life was lost on this alarming occasion ⁴².

Various reports were propagated with regard to the origin of this disaster. It was attributed by some to the republicans, several of whom had been apprehended in the preceding spring, and accused not only of conspiring against the king, but of an intention of firing the city ⁴³. Some ascribed it to the catholics; and others suspected the French and Dutch of having employed

42. London Gazette.—Life of Clarendon.—This fire broke out at the house of a baker in Pudding-lane; whence it spread to the westward as far as the Temple, extending also to Holborn-bridge, to West-Smithfield, and Cripple-gate. It destroyed St. Paul's cathedral and eighty-eight other churches, many halls, hospitals, and other public structures, 13,200 dwelling-houses, and near 400 streets and lanes. The ruins occupied a space of 436 acres. This information is borrowed from an inscription on that stately pillar which was erected near the spot where the fire commenced, as a *monument* of that remarkable accident.

43. For this conspiracy, John Rathbone and seven others were executed in April.

incendiaries

incendiaries to ruin the capital of their enemy. But these surmises, instead of being confirmed, have been generally exploded; and we have no reason to consider this calamity as the fruit of design.

A. D.
1666.

In consequence of this accident, the new houses were chiefly built of brick, and the streets were widened; so that epidemical diseases became less prevalent; and the plague has not once broken out among us since that period. Had the plan of Sir Christopher Wren been followed in the new erections, London would have become the finest city in the world; but private views clashed with public spirit, and prevented the adoption of his model. Within the last twenty years, however, the corporation, as well as individuals, have made considerable improvements in this great capital, with regard to elegance, regularity, convenience, and salubrity; thus proving themselves more enlightened than the citizens of the reign of Charles.

The legislature meeting soon after the fire, the king requested a fresh supply, which, he hoped, would be sufficiently large to convince his foreign enemies, that neither the miseries of pestilence, nor those of conflagration, had so far diminished the spirit or the resources of his people, as to indispose or disable them for active exertions. Thanks were voted to him for his endeavours to check the ravages of the fire; and a committee was appointed to investigate the causes of that misfortune; but this inquiry did not tend to the actual crimination of any persons, though a Frenchman, who appears to have been a lunatic, was condemned on his own frantic confession, and executed. For the prosecution of the war, 1,800,000 pounds were voted; but, from the intrigues of the duke of Buckingham, and other individuals who were discontented with the court,

Sept. 21.

A. D.
1666.

court, the completion of the grant was unnecessarily delayed ⁴⁴.

A. D.
1667.

Among the acts of this session, we find one for rebuilding the city, and another for erecting a judicature to determine disputes concerning the destroyed houses. One act of this period produced warm debates. This was the bill for preventing the importation of Irish cattle into England. The gentry of this kingdom complained that such importation injured the sale of their own cattle, and greatly tended to the diminution of the value of their estates. Hence they eagerly promoted a bill which almost annihilated the trade of Ireland, and reduced that nation, for a time, to great distress. The king was unfriendly to this bill, which he deemed illiberal and impolitic; but his impatience for a supply prompted him to waive his objections to a measure on which the majority of the commons were resolutely bent; and he and the peers gave their assent to it.

Feb. 8.

After a session of above four months, the parliament was again prorogued.

That eagerness which the English court and nation had testified for war, had now subsided into a desire of peace. They found that it would not be so easy to crush the maritime power of the Dutch as they had imagined; and that France, though she had not hitherto exerted herself with vigor in this war, was prepared to give effectual aid to the republic in case of urgent necessity. The supplies, though considerable, were inadequate to the multiplied expences of the government; and the prospect of additional burthens gave little encouragement to the people. Under these circumstances, it became expedient to treat of an accommodation. The states expressed an inclination for peace, but

44. Ralph's Charles II.

A. D.
1667.

would only treat in concert with their allies; and it was agreed, after some dispute, that Breda should be the scene of conference. Denzil Holles (whom Charles had raised to the peerage), and Henry Coventry, were commissioned to negotiate the treaty on the part of England, with the ministers of Holland, France, and Denmark, under the mediation of the court of Sweden.

In the midst of the negotiations, the English nation sustained a flagrant insult and disgrace, to which it was exposed by the king's rapacity and the improvidence of his ministers, and by the passionate desire of the Dutch to be revenged on their imperious rivals. The pensionary de Wit, having procured intelligence of a resolution of the English court to lay up the principal ships, that the last supply might be appropriated to the personal wants of Charles, prevailed on the states to send a strong fleet to harass and insult the foe, as no suspension of arms had been agreed to at the conferences. De Ruyter, with seventy men of war and sixteen fire-ships, sailed to the mouth of the Thames, whence he detached van Ghent with twenty sail up the Medway. Having reduced the fort of Sheerness, and carried the chief spoils on board, van Ghent proceeded towards Chatham, in spite of the obstacles arising from a chain which had been drawn across the river, and from several vessels designedly sunk. With little difficulty, he destroyed seven ships of war, and damaged others; but lost two of his own ships, which, having run aground, were burned by his men. He then rejoined de Ruyter, who held a council of war to deliberate on other enterprises. It was apprehended by the terrified inhabitants of the capital, that the daring enemy would soon appear at the gates of the Tower; and terror and anxiety,

June 10.

A. D.
1667.

ety, mingled with indignation, prevailed throughout the city. Ships were sunk in the Thames; batteries were raised; the militia were embodied; and other precautions of defence were not neglected. But de Ruyter, instead of risking the danger of an approach to London, sailed to the coast of Essex, and made a descent at Harwich, where, however, he met with a repulse. Leaving van Nefs with a squadron near the mouth of the Thames, he directed his course towards Portsmouth, which, as well as Plymouth, he found too strong to be easily reduced. Though he knew that peace had been concluded at Breda, he continued his hostilities along the coast till he received orders of forbearance from the states. Van Nefs, in the Thames, engaged a squadron of inferior force, commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, whom he obliged to retire; but, on the following day, Spragge gained the advantage, and drove the enemy out of the river⁴⁵.

The people were greatly incensed at the conduct of the king and his ministers. They accused the former of having expended on his profligate amusements the supplies which had been granted for the war; and condemned the latter for their encouragement of their sovereign's meanness, and their scandalous neglect of the national defence. Charles himself felt some degree of mortification at the dishonor which had fallen upon his country, and seemed conscious that his behaviour merited censure.

While the Dutch were triumphing on the English coasts, one of their squadrons suffered a defeat from Sir John Harman in the West-Indies; and their Gallic allies were routed at sea by the same commander⁴⁶.

45. *Vie de M. de Ruyter, premiere partie.*—*Life of James II.*—Kennet.

46. *Ralph*, p. 158.

A. D.
1667.

Their Danish confederates were not very active in the war; but contented themselves with occasional captures, though in that respect the balance of profit was against them.

June 29.

After some weeks of negotiation, peace was concluded at Breda between England and her three enemies. Mutual restitutions were stipulated between Charles and the king of France, the former giving up Acadia, in North-America (which had been alternately occupied by the subjects of the two crowns, and had been retaken by the English during the administration of Oliver Cromwell), and the latter restoring the isles of Antigua and Montserrat, and part of the island of St. Christopher. The Dutch agreed to relinquish the American territory of Nova Belgia⁴⁷; and were suffered to retain the isle of Poleron, in the East-Indies. They consented to pay the customary honors to the English flag, and to deliver up any of the murderers of Charles I. who should be found in their dominions. The treaty with Denmark contained nothing worthy of mention, except the remission of a sum of money due from that court to the Hamburgh company⁴⁸.

47. Comprehending not only New-York, but a part of the provinces of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania.

48. Ralph, p. 158.

CHAP. IV.

The lord-chancellor Clarendon is impeached of high treason, and banished.—Charles forms a league with Holland and Sweden against France.—He afterwards enters into a close alliance with the last-mentioned power.—He shuts up the exchequer.—He commences a second war with the Dutch.—His conduct excites discontent among his subjects.—After various naval engagements, he agrees to a peace.

A. D.
1667.

WHEN the people are dissatisfied with the proceedings of the court, the sacrifice of a chief minister usually suggests itself to the sovereign as a seasonable expedient for allaying the public clamors. The chancellor Clarendon having hitherto borne the chief weight of administration, the odium of every unpopular measure had fallen upon him; and he was hated not only for those acts of government in which he had been deeply concerned, but for those which had been adopted without his approbation. Though he was possessed of considerable knowledge and abilities, and was also a man of integrity and virtue, he was far from being a favorite either with the prince or with the people. Charles, being profligate and vicious, was disgusted at the formal deportment, the dull morality, and the serious admonitions, of the earl; and, having a passion for arbitrary power, he resented the checks which that minister had always given to any unconstitutional proposals, or any schemes which might have contributed to render him independent

A. D.
1667.

independent of the parliament and master of his subjects, at a time when the warmth of loyalty seemed to invite him to be absolute. The countess of Castlemaine, and other mistresses of the king, enraged at the contempt with which they were treated by Clarendon, exerted their powerful influence over their lover for the earl's disgrace. The duke of Buckingham, and other dissolute and unprincipled companions of the king, promoted the ruin of one whose dignified demeanor was a tacit reflexion on their licentiousness. Some individuals of rank, from envy of the chancellor's greatness; some, from his refusal of favors which they had solicited; others, from a resentment of supposed affronts which they had received from his inflammability of temper; joined in the confederacy against him. The papists, the presbyterians, and dissenters of every other denomination, wished for his fall, as he had been a great promoter of the rigorous statutes against them. The royalists, considering the king's neglect of them as the consequence of the minister's advice, swelled the tide of clamor against him. The republicans, harassed by imprisonments and prosecutions on slight suspicion, increased the number of his adversaries. The public in general were inclined to reproach his administration, for the tax upon hearths, the sale of Dunkirk, the Portuguese match¹, the late misfortune in the Medway, and the inglorious peace².

These

1: It was affirmed, though without sufficient foundation, that Clarendon's encouragement of this match arose from a previous knowledge of the constitutional sterility of the infant, that the king's want of legitimate issue might leave the succession open to the earl's grandchildren by his daughter Anne, the wife of the duke of York.

2. The great expence of a house which he had lately built contributed to excite the clamors of the populace, who accused him of having acquired by corruption the money which he thus lavished for the

A. D.
1667.

August.

These combined circumstances operated to the ruin of the obnoxious though upright minister, whom the influence of his son-in-law the duke of York was unable to protect. Charles sent a message by the duke, requiring the earl's resignation of the great seal. The hesitation of Clarendon produced a repetition of the demand, with which he thought proper to comply. The king then delivered the seal to Sir Orlando Bridgman, with the title of lord-keeper. One of the earl's principal adherents, the lord-treasurer Southampton, had died not long before; and the decease of this respectable and virtuous nobleman accelerated the disgrace of his surviving friend. The treasury was then put under the direction of five commissioners, the chief of whom were the duke of Albemarle and lord Ashley, who were no friends to Clarendon.

Besides the removal of the minister, the king took other steps for silencing the murmurs of his people. He ordered proceedings to be instituted against persons who had been guilty of abuses; annulled the unpopular patent of the Canary company, as well as several obnoxious regulations; enforced the execution of some acts which had been evaded; released some state prisoners; and commenced a reform in his expenditure. The two houses, soon after their next meeting, voted him thanks for his acts of kindness and condescension, and expressed their particular satisfaction at the dismissal of the earl of Clarendon from public trust. This address was quickly followed by the adgraification of his pride. Some reproachfully affirmed, that it was built with his share of the price of Dunkirk, whence it was called *Dunkirk-house*. He himself remarks, in his life, that this expensive building had more contributed to that gust of envy which had so violently shaken him, than any misdemeanor of which he was supposed to have been guilty.

A. D.
1667.

duction of articles of accusation against the discarded chancellor, and by a vote of the commons for his impeachment of high treason; for his enemies were not satisfied with his removal from the helm. He was charged, among other things, with having endeavoured to introduce an arbitrary government, with having corruptly received large sums, procured extravagant grants from the crown, stopped the course of justice, inflicted unlawful imprisonment, advised the sale of Dunkirk, calumniated his sovereign, and deluded and betrayed both him and the nation³. The grounds of some of the articles were true; but they were not criminal or treasonable: others were false and absurd.

The commons having impeached the earl in general terms before the peers, the latter refused to commit him to custody till the specific articles had been communicated to them. This refusal filled the lower house with rage and resentment, and produced a vote in condemnation of the conduct of the lords. Notwithstanding the seeming forbearance of the upper house, the earl was so sensible of the power and malice of his parliamentary enemies, of the alienation of the royal favor from him, and of the violent prejudices of the people against him, that he resolved to quit the kingdom; a resolution to which he was encouraged by Charles himself⁴. After his retreat, an exculpatory paper written by him was presented to the peers, to whom alone it was addressed. It was by them communicated to the commons; and being voted to be scandalous and seditious, it was ordered, by both houses, to be publicly burned. Instead of a bill of attainder, which some of his opponents in the lower house recommended, the lords contented themselves with a less rigorous proce-

Dec. 3.

3. Grey's Debates, vol. i. p. 16, 17.

4. Life of James II.

A. D.
1667.

Dec. 19. dure. They passed a bill for banishing him, and rendering him incapable of holding any office; and, the commons having agreed to it, the king readily confirmed it⁵. The earl passed the remainder of his life in France, and died at Rouën after seven years of unmerited exile.

Of the early measures of the new ministry, the league against France was the most important. Lewis, impelled by inordinate ambition, had taken advantage of the minority of Charles II. of Spain, and had asserted the ill-founded claim of his wife to a part of the Catholic Netherlands, by invading that country with a powerful army in the summer of this year. His rapid progress alarmed the Dutch, and aroused the jealousy of the English, whose king, being convinced that his endeavours for the preservation of the balance of power would render him popular, proposed to the states the formation of a close alliance, by which the future danger of Gallic encroachments might be obviated. Sir William Temple was the negotiator employed on this occasion; and he prevailed on the pensionary de Wit to agree to the proposal, though that minister had been long attached to the French interest. A league therefore was concluded between England and Holland, for the express purpose of preventing the farther conquests of Lewis⁶; and, as the court of Sweden afterwards acceded to it, it was denominated *the triple alliance*. This has been generally considered as the most prudent measure which Charles ever adopted in foreign politics. When he embraced this resolution, the persons whom he chiefly consulted were the duke of Buckingham, Sir Henry Bennet (who had in 1662 succeeded

A. D.
1668.

5. Kennet's Charles II.

6. Sir William Temple's Letters.

A. D.
1668.

Clarendon's friend, Sir-Edward Nicholas, as secretary of state, and was now baron of Arlington), the lord-keeper Bridgman, the duke of Albemarle, and lord Ashley, chancellor of the exchequer.

Though Lewis felt great disgust at the interposition of the three allied powers, he consented to treat with Spain under their mediation. The new alliance was also unsatisfactory to the Spanish court, as, instead of compelling the French to renounce their unjust acquisitions, it only tended to restrain their future attempts: but, at the peremptory instances of the allies, the queen-regent agreed to their proposal of her relinquishing a part of the dominions of Spain, with a view of securing a permanent peace with France. The ministers of the belligerent powers met in the spring at Aix-la-Chapelle; and, with the assent of the plenipotentiaries of the confederates, concluded a peace, by which Lewis was left in possession of his late conquests in the Netherlands.

The king of England, in the preceding year, had settled, by the medium of the earl of Sandwich, those differences which had arisen between him and the Spaniards from his alliance with the Portuguese court. This treaty was followed by a peace which he mediated between Spain and Portugal, after a war which had continued for twenty-seven years. The former, weary of fruitless hostilities, acquiesced in the pretensions of the house of Braganza, and recognised the independence of the Portuguese realm.

Having restored peace to his own subjects, and taken measures for establishing the tranquillity of Europe, Charles flattered himself with the prospect of securing the good-will and liberality of his parliament, and the favorable opinion of the nation. But he was in some

A. D.
1668.

measure disappointed. His late popular acts, and his judicious interposition in the politics of the continent, were not sufficient to over-balance the strong displeasure which the friends of the church had conceived from his occasional indulgences to her enemies, and from a scheme which the duke of Buckingham and the lord-keeper had formed for the toleration of dissenters. The commons, eager to crush this scheme, expressed

Mar. 4.

their desire of a proclamation against "unlawful assemblies of papists and nonconformists;" a request with which the king speedily complied. They made some additions to the act against conventicles; and expressed a full determination of opposing every scheme for the comprehension or the toleration of the sectaries. Such was their ill humor, that they refused even to vote thanks to Charles for the triple alliance. They postponed the grant of a supply, which he requested for the payment of his debts, as well as for the equipment of a fleet to promote the purposes of the league. They instituted an inquiry into the miscarriages of the war; expelled Brouncker from the house, and ordered him to be impeached for the false orders which he had given after the engagement near Southwold bay; and resolved on the impeachment of several other individuals for neglect of duty; but these accusations were not carried into effect. At length, after repeated intimations of the king's urgent necessities, they passed a bill for raising 310,000 pounds by an imposition on various liquors.

May 9.

When Charles gave his assent to this and other bills, he desired that the two houses would adjourn for three months; from which time, by successive adjournments, and lastly by a prorogation, they continued inactive till the autumn of the following year ⁷.

⁷. Grey's Debates, vol. i.—Ralph.

When the compliance of France and Spain with the proposals of the confederates rendered it unnecessary for Charles to over-awe those powers with his fleet, he sent it into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Thomas Allen, for the infliction of merited chastisement on the Algerines, who had renewed their depredations on the commerce of the English. As they were intimidated into submission by the menaces of the admiral, he forbore hostilities; and, having obtained a release of his captive countrymen, and adjusted new terms of peace with the dey, he returned to England⁸. The next year, he again sailed to the Barbary coast, and commenced hostilities against the Algerines, who had violated the peace; but he performed nothing memorable against them.

A. D.
1668.

Sept.

A. D.
1669.

The duke of Buckingham was now employed in strengthening his influence, by a substitution of his friends for those officers of state on whom he could not depend. Among other removals, he displaced Sir William Morice, in whose room Sir John Trevor became secretary of state. Being jealous of the talents and interest of Sir William Coventry, one of the commissioners of the treasury, he endeavoured to procure his discharge; and, having provoked a challenge from him, he complained to the king, who immediately dismissed Sir William. He, with some difficulty, prevailed on Charles to remove, from the lieutenancy of Ireland, the duke of Ormond, one of the most faithful servants of the crown, and one of the most upright and virtuous men in all his dominions. He even labored to deprive the duke of York of his public employments; but this proved too difficult a task to be accomplished by his utmost efforts.

A. D.
1669.
Oct. 19.

Dec. 11.

1670.
Feb. 14.

When the king opened the next session of parliament, the chief points which he stated to the houses were, the necessity of a fresh supply, and the expediency of an union with Scotland. The commons, having received the report of a committee which had been appointed for the inspection of the public accounts relative to the war, complained of gross mismanagement and misapplication. The discoveries which they made did not, however, prevent them from voting 400,000 pounds; but, before this grant was completed, Charles prorogued the two houses in disgust. When they re-assembled, he assured them that no part of the money which he had received for the war had been diverted to other uses; but that, on the contrary, "besides those supplies, a great sum had been raised out of his standing revenue and credit, and a very great debt contracted, for the sole purposes of the war." A bill was now enacted for his relief, imposing a duty on wine for eight years; and, by another act, he was enabled, for his present supply, to sell the fee-farm rents of the crown. The new bill which had been prepared against conventicles, now received his assent; as did also a bill which authorised English commissioners to treat with Scottish delegates for the union of the two kingdoms; a scheme which did not then take effect. A dispute was now revived which, in a former session, had embroiled the two houses, respecting a judgment which the lords had given in favor of a merchant named Skinner against the East-India company. This decision was deemed irregular and unconstitutional by the commons, as it had not been preceded by an appeal from the sentence of one of the ordinary courts. After some altercation had passed between the houses, the king prevailed on them to erase from their journals all the resolutions which

which concerned this business. When they had been employed near two months in these and other affairs, they adjourned, at his desire, till October 9. A. D.
1679.
Ap. 11.

The king's chief advisers, at this time, were a committee of five persons, well known under the general denomination of the *cabal*; the initials of their respective names happening to correspond exactly with a word which otherwise suited their turbulent, factious, and interested characters. These were, Sir Thomas Clifford, lord Arlington, the duke of Buckingham, lord Ashley, and the earl of Lauderdale. Clifford (whom Charles soon created a peer) was a man of talent and eloquence; bold, open, and violent; firm in his resolutions, and persevering in his enterprises. Lord Arlington (whose services were soon after rewarded with an earldom) was a man of solid understanding rather than of brilliant parts: he was artful, intriguing, and insincere; and had not sufficient firmness to prevent him from promoting even those measures which he disapproved. Buckingham was distinguished by his personal accomplishments, and by the wit and vivacity of his discourse; but he rendered himself contemptible by his absurdities and inconsistencies, and odious by his propensity to vice and his total want of principle. Ashley (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury) possessed uncommon abilities, and particularly excelled in the art of managing parties. Being a slave to his passions, he was as versatile and variable as Buckingham, and equally destitute of integrity and virtue. The earl (afterwards duke) of Lauderdale was so inflamed with a thirst of power, that he would submit to any meaness to obtain and to preserve it; and when he had procured it, no man was more inclined to exercise it

9. Ralph, p. 177—181.—Kennet.

with

A. D.
1670.

with haughtiness, rigor, and inhumanity. He had some parts, and a considerable share of learning; but was well characterised by the duke of Buckingham as "a man of a blundering understanding."

These were the ministers with whom Charles now leagued himself in a conspiracy against the honor and welfare of his country, and the liberties of his people. Impatient of those barriers which the constitution had provided against the excesses of prerogative; averse to a dependence on the humors of his parliamentary subjects; and desirous of a regular subsidy for the improvement of his insufficient revenue, as well as of a permanent alliance by which he might be secured against the attempts of a people whose opposition to his father had given him an incurable jealousy; he formed the scheme of an intimate alliance with the court of France, in violation of the triple confederacy, and of the principles of sound policy. In the early part of his reign, he had made overtures for a strict conjunction with Lewis; but that monarch had then received them with coolness. He now revived those propositions; and the French king, having prepared himself for the enforcement of his schemes of conquest, gave a willing ear to the suggestions of his English relative, who, to hasten the compliance of Lewis, had expressed his zeal for popery, and represented his desire of promoting that religion in his dominions as one of his motives for soliciting an union. Being encouraged in his views by the duke of York, as well as by the members of the *cabal*, Charles concluded a secret agreement with Lewis, purporting that he should receive from the latter a constant pension of 200,000 pounds; that they should unite their arms against Holland, and aim at the conquest and partition of that country; that, in
the

A. D.
1670

the event of the childless death of the young king of Spain, they should exert their combined efforts for the reduction of the territories of that crown; and that the co-operation of Charles in this measure should be recompenced by a subsidy of 800,000 pounds, to be annually paid during the war. The duchess of Orleans, at the desire of Lewis, visited the king her brother at Dover, where, after frequent conferences between them, the agreement was renewed. Besides the particular articles¹⁰, it was concerted between the allied kings, that Lewis should assist Charles in case of any domestic commotions, and promote his views for the extension of his authority. Having finished her negotiations, the duchess returned to France, where she soon after died suddenly, to the extraordinary regret of Charles, who, suspecting that she had been poisoned by the jealousy of her husband, was almost inclined to renounce his connexions with the French court; but, his suspicions not being confirmed by any subsequent discoveries, he persisted in his new alliance¹¹.

As the infamous league with France was kept secret, the parliament, duped by the king's dissimulation, concluded that it was his intention to adhere to the triple alliance, and oppose the progress of Gallic usurpations. The commons (many of whom had been lately gained over to the interests of the court by offices, presents, and promises¹²) voted a very considerable supply for the defence of the realm, that no danger might arise

Oa.

10. Hume intimates, that "no particular articles seem here (*as De-ver*) to have been signed, or even agreed upon." But it appears, from undoubted evidence, that a treaty was there signed on the first of June, and that it contained a variety of specific conditions, relative to the projected conquests, partitions, supplies, &c. *Macpherson's Original Papers*.

11. *Life of James II.*

12. *Marvell's Epistles*.

from

A. D.
1671.

Ap. 22.

from the great preparations which France was then making. Four bills for different impositions passed the lower house; but, the lords presuming to make alterations in them, a dispute ensued between the houses. The consequence of this altercation was the loss of one of the bills, which the lords, though they had given up the point with respect to the three others, insisted on amending. Charles, being desirous of putting an end to all dissensions, gave his assent to the bills that were ready, and prorogued the parliament till the spring of the following year¹³.

Among the acts of this session, were some for the regulation of legal proceedings, others for the encouragement of particular branches of commerce and manufactures, some for the relief and employment of the poor, and one for the prevention of "malicious maiming and wounding." The last-mentioned act, called the Coventry act, arose from an extraordinary circumstance which happened to a member of that name, who, having thrown out a reflexion on the king's mean debaucheries, had been assaulted, with the connivance of Charles, by some officers of the guards, who slit his nose to the bone¹⁴. Such assaults were, by this statute, made capital.

In

13. Grey's Debates, vol. i.—Ralph.

14. Burnet, vol. i. p. 269.—Grey's Debates, vol. i. In the same month in which Sir John Coventry was assaulted (Dec. 1670), a remarkable attempt was made by an Hibernian adventurer named Blood, on the person of the duke of Ormond, whom that ruffian dragged from his carriage, with an intention of hanging him at Tyburn, in revenge for the execution of some of his former comrades, who had been put to death for conspiring to seize the castle of Dublin, during the duke's administration of the affairs of Ireland. Ormond escaped the vengeance of this villain by a seasonable rescue. Blood, in the following year, made an unsuccessful attempt to carry off the crown and regalia from the Tower. Instead of punishing him, the king was so struck with

A. D.
1671.

In the spring of this year, the honor of the nation was bravely sustained in the Mediterranean by Sir Edward Spragge. In the preceding summer, captain Beach, with a small squadron, had defeated an Algerine armament near the strait of Gibraltar, and effected the release of 250 Christian captives, and the destruction of six large ships of the enemy. Spragge now met with greater success. Entering the bay of Bugia, he engaged seven of the best men of war belonging to Algier, and destroyed all of them by means of one fire-ship. One of his cruisers, about the same time, captured a ship of forty guns. Proceeding to Algier, Sir Edward blocked up the harbour, and compelled the dey to acquiesce in new terms of peace¹⁵. Since that period, the English have been rarely molested by the Algerines.

May.

Charles and his ministers were unable to find a plausible pretext for the war which was stipulated by the new alliance. No real cause of complaint had been given by the Dutch since the treaty of Breda; and to commence a fresh war against those who had adhered to the last pacification, and with whom a subsequent league had been formed, was palpably unjust and perfidious. For want of reasonable allegations, a pretence for a quarrel was studiously sought. A yacht being sent from England to bring back the family of Sir William Temple (who had been recalled from his station of resident in Holland, as being too just and conscientious to be subservient to the dishonorable views of his mas-

August.

with his intrepidity, and alarmed at the assurances which he gave him of the peremptory resolution of his numerous associates to revenge his death, that he gratified him with a full pardon, conferred on him an estate in Ireland as a recompence for one which he had forfeited by his concern in the Dublin conspiracy, and even admitted him to the intimacy of the court. *Carte's Ormond*, vol. ii.

15. In November. *Heath's Chronicle*.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*.

ter),

A. D.
1671.

ter), the captain received orders to fire on every Dutch vessel which should refuse to strike her sails. Passing through the Dutch fleet in his return, he fired some shot; but the admiral refused to pay, to a boat of passage, that compliment which he thought was only due to a ship of war. This refusal was magnified into a serious insult; and Sir George Downing was sent to Holland to demand satisfaction for this and other pretended affronts and injuries ¹⁶.

A. D.
1672.
Jan. 6.

The preparations of Charles for crushing the Dutch, of whose flourishing commerce he was jealous, and whose republican principles he detested, were retarded by a deficiency of money. He therefore resolved, at the instigation of Ashley and Clifford, to shut up the exchequer. He issued a proclamation, suspending, for one year, the payment of all sums which then were in that office, or should be brought into it ¹⁷. It was customary for the bankers to lend money to the government at an interest of eight *per cent.* on the security of the standing revenue, or of occasional supplies which had been voted by the parliament. The interest was, in general, punctually paid to them; and they gradually received the principal, as the public money came into the exchequer. By withholding these payments, the king had not only the benefit of the sums which he had borrowed, but also the use of the whole money which his established revenue, as well as the temporary imposts, produced, and which ought to have been appropriated to the payment of the bankers. He promised to make a satisfactory compensation, at the end of the year, for the money which he thus withheld: but he did not perform his promise ¹⁸. Most of the bankers

16. Ralph, p. 196.—Burnet, vol. i.

17. Parkeri Comment. lib. ii.—Ralph, p. 199.

18. Park. Comment.

A. D.
1672.

were necessitated, by the suspension of their assignments from the treasury, to stop payment to those individuals who had put money into their hands, a great number of whom were thus involved in extreme distress. This unjustifiable conduct of the government occasioned violent clamors and general displeasure: consternation and distrust prevailed for a time; and commerce sustained a visible check. But Charles and his unprincipled advisers treated with contempt the emotions of popular disgust.

To augment his resources, Charles resolved, before he declared war against the Hollanders, that an attempt should be made on their valuable fleet returning from Smyrna. Sir Robert Holmes was employed on this occasion. Discovering the expected fleet near the isle of Wight, he hastened to meet it; and an obstinate engagement ensued. The Dutch merchant-men were about fifty in number; many of them were amply furnished with guns; and six ships of war accompanied them. Holmes had seven men of war under his command; and, if he had requested the aid of Spragge's squadron, which then passed near him, he would, in all probability, have succeeded in his enterprise. But he did not wish to divide with Spragge the glory of the undertaking; and therefore, notwithstanding the gallant efforts of himself and his comrades, he could only take five of the Smyrna ships, and one man of war (which sunk soon after her capture), in a conflict of two days¹⁹. The ministry affirmed, that this attack was provoked by the refusal of the Dutch to pay to our fleet the honors of the flag; but this assertion had not the sanction of truth.

Mar. 13.

A declaration of war against Holland was no longer delayed. This absurd manifesto stated, as the grounds

Mar. 17.

19. London Gazette, No. 660.—Life of James II.

A. D.
1672.

of sanguinary vengeance, some pretended infractions of the treaty of Breda, the refusal of the honors of the flag in the last year, and the exhibition of paintings and medals reflecting on the king and people of England. The Dutch had labored to procure a continuance of peace; but, when they found their endeavours fruitless, they prepared to meet the storm with vigor and fortitude ²⁰.

The English fleet, under the command of the duke of York, was joined in the spring by a squadron which the French king had sent to our coast, commanded by the count d'Estrées. De Ruyter, with about 100 sail, approached the combined fleets, which nearly amounted to 120 ships of war, two-thirds of the number being English. A battle was now fought near Southwold
May 28. bay, which had been the scene of a memorable engagement in the preceding war. The united fleets, as well as that of Holland, were arranged in three bodies. The duke of York, the earl of Sandwich, and the count d'Estrées, were opposed to de Ruyter, Van Ghent, and Banckert. The duke fought with spirit; but the earl particularly distinguished himself. The latter withstood all the efforts of Van Ghent, who fell in the heat of the conflict: he sunk one large ship which encountered him, and disabled others: he destroyed three fire-ships which had been sent to burn his vessel; but had not the same success in securing it against the attack of a fourth, by which his own destruction was occasioned ²¹.

20. Vie de M. de Ruyter, seconde partie.—Ralph, p. 207.

21. There are different accounts respecting the death of this gallant and accomplished nobleman. Some affirm, that he had no opportunity of escaping, but was blown up with his ship: others say, that he was drowned in attempting to reach another vessel; and some assert, that he might have escaped, but that he was so piqued at expressions which are said to have fallen from the duke, as if some advice which he had given to avoid being surprised by the enemy had arisen from unmanly apprehensions, that he voluntarily sacrificed his life.

After

A. D.
1672.

After the catastrophe of the earl of Sandwich, whose public as well as private merit produced an universal regret for his loss, Sir Joseph Jordan, who was his vice-admiral, sailed with the blue squadron to the assistance of the red, which the Dutch had pressed so vigorously, that the duke had been obliged, by the disabled state of two ships in which he had fought, to shift his flag to a third. The French had little concern in the fight; and, indeed, d'Estrées behaved as if he had received instructions from his sovereign to spare his ships as far as he could with decency: he lost, however, two of his vessels. The combatants desisting from their efforts in the evening, the duke began to retire. The Dutch pursuing him, he renewed the conflict, and compelled them to retreat. Little advantage was gained by either party in this engagement; and few ships were lost, though many were disabled. There is great uncertainty with regard to the amount of the slain; but it is allowed that an extraordinary number fell on each side. De Ruyter even declared, that it was the most bloody and obstinate action of any which he had ever witnessed ²².

The Dutch were exposed to greater danger by land than by sea, in this active year. The French monarch, having levied an army of above 120,000 men, approached the frontiers of the United Provinces. Nothing could exceed the consternation of those whom his great preparations menaced with ruin. They were divided by factions; their troops were contemptible in point of discipline; and they had little assistance from other powers. The court of Stockholm had been detached from the triple alliance by the influence of England; and the republic, for some time, had no other

22. Life of James II.—Ralph's Charles II.—Vie de M. de Ruyter

A. D.
1672.

aid than the weak support of the elector of Brandenburg. The French, as might have been expected, made a rapid progress. In a few weeks, they obtained possession of the major part of the provinces of Utrecht, Guelderland, and Over-Yssel, and penetrated within ten miles of Amsterdam. Their very numerous, well-appointed, and gallant army, assisted by a body of English, and by the forces of the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Munster, daily deprived the Dutch of their towns and fortresses. Lewis, triumphing in his success, kept a splendid court at Utrecht; where he received the plenipotentiaries whom Charles had sent to him, with a view of adjusting the answer which should be given to the earnest solicitations of the Dutch for peace.

July.

The terms offered by the two kings were too dishonorable to be accepted; and the prince of Orange strongly remonstrated against a peace which could only be procured by such ignominious concessions. The interest of this young prince, who was the nephew of Charles, had lately gained ground; while that of de Wit had declined in the same proportion. The pensionary, whose father had been imprisoned by the late prince for an opposition to his unconstitutional views, had always cherished a strong repugnance to the revival of the office of stadtholder; whence he was an object of hatred to the numerous friends of the house of Orange. In the present misfortunes of the commonwealth, many of those who had before been, in some measure, neutral, joined the Orange faction against that of de Wit, concluding that the strength of the nation might be exerted with more energy under the auspices of a stadtholder, and that the elevation of the prince to this dignity would contribute to detach his uncle from the support of France. The populace zealously promoted

A. D.
1672.

moted the appointment of young William to the post which had been enjoyed by his ancestors, and inveighed against de Wit and his brother for their averſion to that meaſure, repreſenting thoſe able and patriotic miniſters as betrayers of their country. The public clamors at length produced inſurrections, which terminated in the elevation of the prince, the removal of his chief adverſaries from office, and the inhuman aſſaſſination of the unfortunate brothers. The new ſtadt-holder ſedulouſly exerted himſelf for the retrieval of the declining affairs of his country, though the two kings tempted him with ſplendid offers to betray it. While the inundation of the lands afforded ſome ſecurity, he endeavoured, at the head of an army, to repel the invaders; but he did not make any impreſſion on them. Their operations, however, were languid after the departure of Lewis, who, as if ſatiated with the glory which he had acquired, returned to France with a part of his army, inſtead of attempting the reduction of Amſterdam, which would not, perhaps, have made a long reſiſtance. To facilitate the conqueſt of the Dutch territories, the Engliſh fleet had ſailed with that of France after the battle of Southwold-bay, having a conſiderable number of ſoldiers on board; but the invaſion which they meditated was prevented by a moſt violent tempeſt²³.

The expences of the war having conſumed not only the ſums which Charles had detained from the public creditors, but alſo the ſupplies which he had received from France, he ſuſpended the payments due from the exchequer, for ſome months after the period which he had before aſſigned; and reſolved, inſtead of continuing the prorogation of his parliament, to make another trial of the liberality of the commons. The two houſes hav-

Dec. 11.

23. Ralph, ad annum 1672.—The Netherland Hiſtorian.

A. D.
1673.
Feb. 4.

ing met, he expressed his hopes of an ample supply for that "necessary war into which he had been forced;" vindicated the propriety of a declaration which he had issued during the recess, suspending the execution of the laws against dissenters; and endeavoured to obviate the apprehensions which the people had (not without reason) conceived, as if the forces which he had raised since the commencement of the war, were designed to control law and property. The first business of the lower house was to annul the election of various persons who had been chosen for vacant seats, since the last session, in consequence of writs issued by the chancellor. The present possessor of that high dignity was lord Ashley, who had lately been created earl of Shaftesbury, and who had practised this irregularity with a view of influencing the elections. The next vote of the house was more pleasing to the court, as it related to a supply of 1,238,750 pounds, to be raised within a year and a half by monthly assessments. But, before the bill of supply was completed, the commons resolved to take notice of what they considered as grievances. They signified their disapprobation of the late declaration of indulgence to dissenters; and, by two addresses, prevailed on the reluctant king to revoke it. They were less displeased with the substance of it, as far as it regarded protestant non-conformists, than with the unconstitutional manner in which it was brought forward, by the claim of a power of dispensing with acts of parliament. They passed a bill for imposing a test on all who should be appointed to any public office, who were not only required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receive the sacrament according to the rites of the established church, but were also enjoined to renounce all belief in the doctrine of transub-

transubstantiation. The presumptive heir of the crown being a warm partisan of the Romish system, and the reigning prince having conceived an inclination for the same faith, the alarms and jealousies of the friends of the reformed church were exceedingly strong, and were supported by more reasonable grounds than in the two preceding reigns, when fears of the prevalence of popery, though causeless and absurd, had been so general. Hence arose the introduction of the test-act, which, though it affected dissenters in general, was particularly directed against the catholics. The dread of this odious sect was now so strong, that the commons were inclined to mitigate their former severity against the protestant dissenters, with a view of concentrating the whole reformed interest against the Romish party. They therefore passed a bill for the relief of the former; but it was lost by delays in the upper house. They afterwards prepared two remonstrances, which they presented to the king; one relating to England, and the other to Ireland. The Hibernian grievances of which they complained were such as arose from the encouragement given to papists; and those of England were, an occasional impost on coals, and the abuses committed in quartering and pressing soldiers; circumstances which seemed to them to be more worthy of censure than the unjust war with Holland, the dangerous alliance with France, and the arbitrary and injurious suspension of the payments of the exchequer. Having promised, in general terms, to attend to the remonstrances, and passed the bill of supply, that of the test, and other bills, Charles commanded the two houses to adjourn till the autumn ²⁴.

A. D.
1673.

Mar. 29.

Of those individuals whose scruples of conscience would not suffer them to submit to the conditions of

24. Grey's Debates, vol. ii.

A. D.
1673.

the test-act, the duke of York was one. He therefore resigned the office of lord high admiral, that of commander in chief of the forces (in which he had succeeded the duke of Albemarle²⁵), the wardenship of the cinque-ports, and the government of Portsmouth. Lord Clifford also, who had been for a few months high treasurer, resigned that post in consequence of his zeal for popery. The admiralty was now put in commission; and the treasurer's staff was bestowed on Thomas Osborne, viscount Dunblane, a creature of the duke of Buckingham.

The command of the fleet was conferred on prince Rupert, whose chief officers were Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Ossory, the heroic son of the duke of Ormond. The French joined the prince with their fleet; and, instead of forming a separate squadron, their ships were intermingled with those of their allies. A battle was fought near Schoneveldt, between the combined fleets and that of the Dutch, commanded by de Ruyter, Van Tromp, and Banckert. The latter had not above eighty men of war; while their opponents had about one hundred. Small loss was sustained by the respective fleets; but the French seem to have had the greatest share of it. Both sides, though with little reason, claimed the victory; as they also did in a second conflict, which was managed with spirit, but was equally indecisive. A third engagement occurred before the end of the summer, near the Texel. In this action, which was more furious and obstinate than either of the preceding combats, Spragge, who had opposed Van Tromp for many hours with distinguished valor, was drowned in passing to a fresh ship; and the Dutch also were deprived of the services of two vice-

June 4.

Aug. 11.

²⁵. This celebrated restorer of the English monarchy died in the beginning of the year 1670.

admirals,

A. D.
1673.

admirals, de Liefde and Sweers. Had the French borne their due share of the combat, a complete victory would have devolved to the allies ; but they kept aloof while the English and Dutch were destroying each other. Several ships of the line, and many small vessels, were burned or sunk on both sides. The hostile fleets retired in the evening, each claiming the honor of a victory, which, however, was undecided ²⁶.

The continental campaign of this year gave the Dutch an opportunity of emerging from those calamities which they had sustained in the foregoing year. Though their ally, the elector of Brandenburg, had concluded a peace with their Gallic enemies, they procured a more effectual assistance than he could afford them, by an alliance which they formed with the emperor and the king of Spain. They regained some of the towns which they had lost ; and being joined by an army of imperialists, they reduced the greater part of the electorate of Cologne. The Spaniards harassed the French in the Netherlands ; and those who were so lately triumphant in Holland, and fondly expected to complete in this year the conquest of that country, were constrained to relinquish their new acquisitions, to the extraordinary joy of the Dutch, who, when the storm so furiously burst upon them, had almost abandoned every hope of preserving their state. A congress was holden at Cologne, for the ostensible purpose of restoring peace ; but it was not productive of an accommodation. The demands of Lewis and Charles were too high to be agreeable to the Hollanders, who therefore rejected them, and prepared for a vigorous continuance of the war ²⁷.

26. Ralph's Charles I.—Kennet.—Vie de M. de Ruyter.

27. Ralph's Charles II.—Netherland Historian.

When

A. D.
1673.
Oct. 27.

When the parliament of England re-assembled, the king mentioned the rejection of his offers by the Dutch, who, he said, "had treated his ambassadors at Cologne "with the contempt of conquerors:" he therefore hoped that such a supply would be granted to him as might enable him to enforce their submission to reasonable terms of peace. The commons were not very eager to comply with the royal wishes; but resolved to renew their remonstrances. They were greatly displeased at a matrimonial treaty which had been concluded between the duke of York (whose first wife, lord Clarendon's daughter, died in 1671) and Mary d'Este, daughter of the duke of Modena; and they requested, by an address to the king, that this contract with a catholic might be annulled, as such a match, by tending to the encouragement of popery, would fill the minds of his protestant subjects with endless fears and discontents. They prepared a bill for the further restriction of papists, who were now the chief objects of public jealousy. They declared that they would grant no supply, unless it should really appear that the states-general were obstinately bent on the prosecution of the war, and unless there should be a general redress of grievances. They voted that the standing army was a grievance; and were proceeding with other attacks on the court, when Charles suddenly prorogued the parliament. To gratify the commons in their zeal against the Romish system, he now prohibited the professors of that faith from appearing either at his palace or that of his brother; but he did not endeavour to prevent the consummation of the obnoxious marriage²⁸.

Nov. 4.

A. D.
1674.

The next session produced a peace with Holland. Charles found that the war with that state was so un-

28. Grey's Debates, vol. ii.—Kennet.—Ralph.

pleasing to his parliament, as to preclude the hopes of his being supplied with sufficient sums for the prosecution of it. He found also that his late measures had aroused the strong suspicions of his people, and had put them on their guard against his arbitrary projects. He therefore thought it adviseable to temporise, and wait a more favorable conjuncture for the extension of his authority. He resolved to relinquish, without delay, his alliance with the French monarch, as far as it regarded a complete concurrence in his warlike enterprises; and to comply with the wishes of his subjects, by desisting from a war which they considered as ill-founded and iniquitous. Having received new proposals from the states-general, he communicated them to the two houses, who requested him to expedite the adjustment of peace. A treaty was soon concluded, by which the Dutch agreed to pay about 200,000 pounds towards the expences of the war; to strike the flag, and lower the top-sails, to English ships of war, both individually and in fleets; and to restore such places as they had taken during the war, on condition that Charles should make a similar restitution. With regard to the British auxiliaries in the service of the king of France, it was privately stipulated that they should not be recruited; and, to give the Dutch some compensation for the continuance of those troops in the army of the enemies of the republic, Charles permitted the states to levy forces in his dominions. Matters of trade were referred, by mutual consent, to select commissioners, who, in the course of the year, adjusted all differences between the commercial companies of the two nations²⁹.

A. D.
1674-

Feb. 9

29. Sir William Temple's Memoirs.—Ralph's Charles II.—Kennet.
—Burnet,

C H A P. V.

Charles is on ill terms with his parliament.—He renews his secret treaty with the king of France.—He forms a new alliance with the Dutch.—He mediates a peace between them and the French.—The papists are accused of a plot against the church and state.—Some of them are executed on pretence of their concern in it.—The lord-treasurer Danby is impeached for promoting the king's connexions with France.—Charles dissolves the parliament.

A. D.
1674.

THE sinister counsels of Charles had weakened that popularity with which his restoration had been attended. His connexion with an ambitious despot whom he ought to have opposed, his misapplication of the public money, and his disregard of the liberties of the nation, had exposed him to the censures of all men of judgment, integrity, and patriotism ; and had afforded, to those who were not distinguished by such qualities, an opportunity of inflaming, by the arts of faction, the discontent which had so justly arisen.

The intriguing earl of Shaftesbury, apprehensive of the vengeance of the commons for his share in the measures of the cabal, and finding his influence at court less powerful than he wished it to be, had privately leagued himself with the phalanx of opposition, before the king's jealousy of his views induced him to deprive him of the dignity of chancellor ; and, immediately after his dismissal, he became an avowed and violent enemy to the court. The duke of Buckingham,

ham, from similar motives, prepared to follow the earl's example; but he had not yet imparted his intentions to the popular party, when it was proposed in the lower house, that he, as well as the earl of Arlington and the duke of Lauderdale, should be accused of mal-administration. Addresses were voted for the removal of the two dukes from all concern in the government; and articles of charge were adduced, but not carried into effect, against Arlington. The complaints of the commons, and their reluctance to the grant of a supply, gave such disgust to the king, that, though he complied with their request for the dismissal of the army which he had raised on pretence of the war, he abruptly closed the session.

A. D.
1674.

Feb. 24.

Though the French king was displeased at the peace between England and Holland, he accepted the apologies of Charles, and consented to a mediation which this prince offered between the belligerent powers. But all endeavours to adjust a peace between them were long fruitless. With respect to the campaign of this year, it was favorable to the French, who, though the efforts of the gallant prince of Orange prevented them from being victorious in the well-disputed battle of Seneffe, obtained several advantages over the Dutch and their allies, and reduced the province of Franche-Comté, but disgraced their arms by the inhuman devastations which they committed in the Palatinate¹.

Aware of the unfriendly disposition of the English commons towards him, Lewis bribed Charles to another prorogation of the parliament, which, therefore, did not meet again, till after a respite of near fourteen months. A new session being then opened with the royal declarations of regard for the protestant religion

A. D.
1675.
Apr. 13.

1. Histoire de France sous Louis XIV. par M. de Larrey — Temple's Memoirs.

A. D.
1675.

and constitutional liberty, accompanied with a recommendation of mild and temperate proceedings, the commons renewed their censures of the administration; repeated their desire of the removal of Lauderdale; took some steps towards an impeachment of the lord-treasurer (now earl of Danby); opposed the continuance of the English regiments in the French service; and prepared several bills for different purposes that were obnoxious to the court. Very warm debates occurred among the lords, in this session, on the subject of a test proposed by the ministerial party, requiring not only all persons in office, but every member of either house, to take the oath of unqualified non-resistance, and swear not to attempt the alteration of the established religion or government. Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and many other peers, strongly opposed this despotic bill; but it received the assent of a majority of that house. Before it had passed the ordeal of the commons, a violent altercation which took place between them and the lords on a point of privilege, induced the king to put an end to the session².

June 9.

The mediation of Charles being disregarded, another campaign ensued on the continent, in which the English auxiliaries behaved with distinguished courage, particularly in that retreat which followed the death of the celebrated Turenne. Churchill, who afterwards, when duke of Marlborough, became so formidable to the French, commanded at this time a company in their service. This campaign proved more favorable to the allies than to the French.

Oct. 13. At the next meeting of the parliament, the king still found the commons inclined to thwart his wishes.

2. Grey's Debates, vol. iii.—Ralph.

They refused to comply with his desire of a supply for taking off the anticipations of his revenue; and, though they voted 300,000 pounds, they carefully provided that it should be confined to the charges of ship-building. Disgusted at some of the bills which they had prepared, and at the revival of disputes between them and the peers, he prorogued the two houses for above a year, without receiving the voted supply³.

A. D.
1675.

Nov. 22.

Soon after this prorogation, Charles concluded a new convention with the king of France, importing, among other conditions similar to those of the last treaty between them, that neither of them should enter into any treaty without the consent of the other, and that, if the English parliament should wish to force Charles into hostilities against Lewis, he should either prorogue or dissolve it⁴. So attached was this prince to his Gallic connexions, that he forbore to insist upon satisfaction for the losses which his commercial subjects sustained from the frequent capture of their vessels by the ships of France⁵.

A. D.
1676.
Feb.

The operations of the allies in this year were less vigorous than they had before been; and the chief advantages resulted to the French. In the course of the year, the plenipotentiaries of France, Holland, and the other contending powers, met at Nimeguen, to which place Charles, as mediator, had sent lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Leoline Jenkins; but the proceedings of these negotiators were evasive

3. Near the close of this year, the king issued a proclamation for the suppression of coffee-houses, which he regarded as seminaries of sedition; but, reflecting that this prohibition would rather augment than allay the freedom of censure, he soon revoked it. *Ralph.*

4. Macpherfon's Original Papers.

5. Ralph's Charles II.

and

A. D.
1676.

and dilatory, from the clashing interests of their employers.

A. D.
1677.
Feb.

The long recess of the English parliament was succeeded by an active session. The duke of Buckingham, and other noblemen of the opposition, disputed the legality of the meeting, as the prorogation had exceeded the space of a twelvemonth, in repugnance to that statute of Edward III. which ordained that a parliament should assemble at least once every year. They therefore affirmed that the length of the recess had produced a virtual dissolution; but it was observed, in reply, that the statute which repealed the triennial act of Charles I. provided only against an intermission of above three years. The ministerial party urged, that such an attempt to throw the nation into confusion, deserved the resentment of the house; and it was resolved that the duke, as well as the earl of Shaftesbury, the earl of Salisbury, and lord Wharton, who had supported his arguments, should recant their speeches, or be sent to the Tower. Refusing to retract, they were immediately committed; and were not released till they had made the desired submissions, which Shaftesbury delayed for above a year⁶.

The commons directed their early attention to several bills calculated for the security of religion and liberty. The supply also occasioned some deliberation; and it was resolved that a sum not exceeding 600,000 pounds should be granted for building 30 ships; and that an excise which had been formerly given for a limited period should be continued for three years⁷.

The progress of the French in the Spanish Netherlands produced an address from the two houses to Charles, representing his interest and that of his people.

6. Kennet. - Ralph.

7. Grey's Debates, vol. iv.

A. D.
1677.

as highly concerned in the preservation of those provinces, and requesting him to strengthen himself by alliances against the dangerous encroachments of Lewis. This was followed by another from the commons, promising liberal supplies for the prosecution of those hostilities in which he might be engaged by such alliances. They afterwards desired him to enter into a close confederacy with Holland against France; but that measure being inconsistent with his engagements to Lewis, he declined a compliance with their desire, and sharply rebuked them for having invaded his prerogative, by presuming to dictate to him on such a subject⁸.

Though Charles was unwilling to take arms against the French king, he continued his negotiatory efforts for checking that prince's career. Lewis, finding himself impoverished by the extraordinary expence of his enterprises, began to be desirous of peace; and was therefore inclined to a relaxation of those high terms which only served to retard it. He now adjusted all differences with the Dutch; but this agreement was not to be conclusive without the concurrence of all the belligerent powers. Both he and Charles solicited the states to make a final settlement without regard to their allies; but the prince of Orange, who deemed such a procedure dishonorable, warmly opposed it. The prince, at the close of this year's campaign (which was unfortunate to his party), passed over to England, to conclude a matrimonial treaty on which his inclinations were strongly fixed, as well as to confer with his uncle on the politics of the continent. Mary, the eldest daughter of the duke of York, was the ob-

8. Grey's Debates, vol. iv. —Ralph.

A. D.
1677.

ject of his choice. Though an offer of her hand had been made to him some years before, he had then neglected the proposal; but, having been desired by the states to think of the continuance of his family, and reflecting that Mary was the presumptive heiress of her father, who was himself the next in the order of succession to the crown, he now wished to accomplish the proposed alliance. Though Mary, by her uncle's orders, had been educated in the protestant religion, the duke would have preferred a catholic son-in-law to one of her own persuasion; but, at the desire of Charles, who knew that a match between his niece and the prince of Orange would be highly agreeable to his people, by allaying their fears of the re-establishment of popery, James consented to a marriage which in his heart he disapproved. It was now solemnised at St. James's palace, by Compton bishop of London, on Nov. 4. the prince's birth-day, he being then twenty-seven years of age, while the bride had not completed her sixteenth year. This point being settled, the prince conferred with his two uncles on the subject of a general peace; and terms were adjusted between them, to which Charles engaged to obtain the assent of Lewis. The earl of Feversham, being sent to France for that purpose, found the king unwilling to acquiesce in the proposals. As Charles had promised his nephew that he would make war on France, if she should reject the offered conditions, he now concluded a new alliance with the states-general, as a prelude to the performance of his promise. Lewis was surprised at the behaviour of his English pensioner, and was particularly alarmed, when, instead of protracting the meeting of the parliament, according to the late agreement between them, Charles convoked the two houses some months before

A. D.
1678.

fore the time which he had fixed by a prior proclamation⁹.

A. D.
1678.

The speech of Charles to the two houses stated the necessity of making great preparations for an eventual war with France. The commons applauded his resolution, and desired him not to consent to any agreement which should leave the French king in a better condition to offend his neighbours, than that in which he had been left by the Pyrenean treaty. They voted 90 ships, 25,000 seamen, and 29,880 soldiers, for the purposes of the war; and the sum of one million was voted towards the expences of these great equipments¹⁰.

Jan. 28.

Though a war with France was, upon the whole, a popular measure, the steps that were taken towards it were obstructed by many of those members who were supposed to be subservient to the views and interests of the public, in opposition to those of the court. It appears, that some of these individuals, as well as the king and his ministers, had suffered themselves to be corrupted by French gold¹¹: others, from a spirit of faction, opposed a war on which the court seemed now to be bent; while some, from motives of patriotism, endeavoured to prevent those military preparations which, they apprehended, the king might employ in the subversion of the liberties of his people. Notwithstanding the efforts of these opposers of the war, a majority of the commons exhorted the king to commence immediate and vigorous hostilities against the French; but he rejected the advice, as proceeding only from one branch of the legislature. They then addressed him, but in vain, for the removal of those

9. Temple's Memoirs.

10. Grey's Debates, vol. 7.

11. Memoires de Barillon.

A. D.
1678.

ministers who had advised him to disregard their applications, and neglect their remonstrances, in this and the preceding year.

May.

The French king now made another attempt to fix the inconstant Charles. He offered him 300,000 pounds as the price of his neutrality, if the allied powers should refuse their assent to those terms which the former had proposed. He also required him to reduce his new army to 6000 men, and prorogue his parliament. These proposals were accepted by Charles; and a formal treaty was signed ¹².

July.

In the mean time, the negotiations were continued at Nimeguen. Among the articles which were on the point of being concluded, there was one for the restitution of six towns in the Netherlands to the king of Spain; but, when the ambassador of that prince inquired at what time that condition would be executed, he received such an answer as rendered the intentions of Lewis liable to suspicion. He therefore, as well as the Dutch plenipotentiaries, refused to sign the treaty. Charles, disgusted at the evasive behaviour of the French king, and at that article in his late agreement which related to the dismissal of his forces, resolved to compel him by arms to a speedy evacuation of the six towns; for which purpose he formed a new contract with the states-general ¹³. The public now expected a vigorous renewal of the war against France, under the auspices of a prince who had long been considered as the arbiter of Europe, and who had now renounced his subserviency to the interests of the arrogant and encroaching Lewis. But Charles found means to prevail on that monarch to consent to the

12. Appendix to sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great-Britain and Ireland.

13. Temple's Memoirs.

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restitution of the six towns; and peace was immediately concluded between France and Holland. Lewis being averse to the payment of the last subsidy, which, he said, had not been merited by the conduct of Charles, the latter endeavoured, in revenge, to procure from the states a disavowal of their treaty with France, and a resolution of joining him in a war, calculated for compelling that court to grant more favorable terms to the allies than she had hitherto offered. He resolved to send over a considerable body of troops to Flanders, in addition to a detachment which he had sent thither in the spring. He ordered a fleet to put to sea without delay; and seemed to be seriously bent on a war. The prince of Orange was pleased with these instances of spirit; for he was eagerly desirous of continuing the war, till France should be effectually humbled. He had attacked the French army, near Mons, when he must have known of the peace between Lewis and the republic; and, with an unjustifiable disregard of the lives of his fellow-creatures, he had sacrificed some thousands of gallant warriors to his idle thirst of glory, and his personal disgust and resentment. His partisans endeavoured, without effect, to dispose the states to a renewal of the war; and the efforts of Charles, for the same purpose, were equally fruitless. They not only ratified the treaty, but prevailed on the emperor, the king of Spain, and the other princes of the confederacy, to expedite an accommodation with France ¹⁴.

While the king was engaged in contradictory negotiations, the commons, who had in vain urged him to enter into a war with France, voted that the army which had been raised for the eventual war should be

¹⁴. Temple's Memoirs.—Burnet.—Ralph.

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disbanded; and, for this purpose, a supply was granted. They refused to comply with his request of an annual addition of 300,000 pounds to his revenue¹⁵. Such an increase, they concluded, would render him less dependent on his parliament than they wished him to be. Their jealousy of his views showed itself on other occasions; and his distrust was equal to that which they entertained. They apprehended that he aimed at the establishment of arbitrary sway; while he suspected them of an intention of invading his lawful authority, and reducing him to a state of weakness and insignificance.

Aug. 12.

When the expectations which the people had conceived of a French war had subsided, an extraordinary alarm arose from a pretended conspiracy of the catholics. As the king was taking his accustomed walk in St. James's park, he was suddenly accosted by one Kirkby (whose chemical knowledge had procured him occasional access to the royal laboratory), who requested him to take care of his person, as a design had been formed against his life. An intriguing divine named Tonge, being mentioned by Kirkby as well acquainted with the particulars of the plot, was soon after introduced to Charles, to whom he delivered a written narrative of the affair, consisting of 43 articles. This paper being put into the hands of the lord-treasurer Danby, he had several conferences with Tonge; but as no grounds appeared that could induce men of any penetration to give full credit to the intelligence communicated on this occasion, it would, in all probability, have been finally neglected, if the duke of York had not eagerly promoted a strict inquiry into the particulars of it. His confessor Bedingfield having received a

¹⁵. Grey's Debates, vol. vi. p. 102.

packet of letters written in the names of different Jesuits, the duke imparted this correspondence to his brother, and desired him to commit the investigation of the supposed plot to the privy council, that an opportunity might be afforded to the papists of proving their innocence. Titus Otes, an indigent adventurer, who disgraced the ecclesiastical function into which he had been admitted, stated to the council a series of remarkable circumstances, which, had they been true, would have proved the existence of a flagitious conspiracy. Among a variety of gross absurdities and inconsistencies, the substance of his information tended to show, that the pope, claiming the sovereignty of the three kingdoms ruled by Charles, had delegated his authority over them to the Jesuits, who had distributed among their adherents many commissions for different offices, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; that father de la Chaise, confessor of the king of France, had consigned 10,000 pounds to a goldsmith of London, to be paid to any one who should assassinate the English monarch; that the Hibernian papists were to be assisted by a French army, in the extirpation of the protestants; that the catholics of Great-Britain had engaged to rise in arms, massacre the heretics, and take possession of the government; that the Jesuits, by whom London had been already fired, had resolved to promote their schemes by similar conflagrations; and that they intended, after they should have accomplished their violent purposes, to offer the crown to the duke of York, on condition of his being subservient to the will of the pope¹⁶.

After all the discussion which this affair has undergone, the general opinion is, that the report of such a conspiracy was false, and that Tonge and Otes, both

¹⁶. Pamphlets of the Times.—Memoirs of the Earl of Danby.
—Burnet.

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of whom were men of profligate habits and depraved morals, concerted the imposture, in the hope of deriving personal advantage from the public confusion. The earl of Shaftesbury, and other leaders of the popular party (who are supposed by some to have instigated the two clerical impostors) encouraged the belief of the conspiracy, out of hatred to the catholic faction, and with a view of promoting the exclusion of the duke of York from his right of succession.

In consequence of the information given by Otes, many catholics were apprehended by order of the council; and, in searching the house of Edward Coleman, who had officiated as secretary to the duchess of York, some papers were found which, in the opinion of the credulous, confirmed the alarming narrative. Coleman was a rash bigot, whose intemperate zeal had prompted him to carry on intrigues with his brethren for the promotion of the cause of popery, which, he was so sanguine as to hope, might be gradually re-established in England under the auspices of the duke, with the assistance of the king of France. Though his correspondence with the papists of the continent, instead of confirming the plot mentioned by Otes and Tonge, only evinced the general eagerness of the Romish zealots to crush the reformed system, the discovery of his letters strengthened the public belief of the conspiracy, and increased the panic which had already overspread the nation¹⁷.

Another incident heightened, to an extravagant degree, the terrors of the people, and rendered the catholics the objects of horror and detestation. Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, a magistrate of Westminster, who had administered an oath to Otes for the truth of

17. Burnet, vol. i.—North's Examen of the Reign of Charles II.

his evidence, was found dead near Primrose-hill, with his own sword thrust through his body¹⁸. It was immediately concluded that he had been murdered by the papists; and the infatuated public no longer doubted the reality of the violent and sanguinary schemes attributed by Otes to that odious sect.

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Oct. 17.

There are four opinions among historians with regard to the death of Godfrey. Some affirm, that he was assassinated by the catholics: others suppose that the partisans of opposition murdered him, with an intention of imputing the crime to the papists: some think that the private resentment of injured individuals, uninfluenced by views of party, occasioned his sacrifice; and others are inclined to believe that he was his own destroyer. Perhaps, as he was of a melancholy disposition, the last opinion may be the best founded. But, if we should admit the truth of the first, the veracity of Otes's testimony would not necessarily follow. Some vindictive catholics, enraged at the countenance which Godfrey had given, though only in the course of his official duty, to a series of falsehoods, by which the lives of many of their brethren were affected, might be stimulated to take vengeance on him, without the necessity of supposing that the sanguinary deed arose from resentment at his admission of a testimony which they knew to be true.

As soon as the parliament re-assembled, both houses testified a strong desire of inquiring into the popish plot. The king, apprehensive that an improper use might be made of this affair, wished to preclude the parliamentary investigation of it; but his chief minister, the earl of Danby, being of opinion that he might divert an impeachment which was meditated against him, by

Oct. 21.

¹⁸. Burnet, vol. i.

countenancing

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countenancing the zeal of the popular party against the Romanists, opened the business to the lords on the first day of the session, and recommended an immediate inquiry into it. The two houses eagerly adopted the absurdities and falsehoods of Otes, and encouraged the production of additional evidence against the enemies of the protestant faith. They represented that impostor as worthy of the favor of his sovereign; and his information was rewarded with a pension of 1200 pounds. They unanimously voted that there was "a damnable" and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for murdering the king, subverting the government, and rooting out the protestant religion." In compliance with their wishes, the king issued several proclamations against the catholics, whom he banished to the distance of ten miles from the capital, expelled from the employments into which they had intruded, and prohibited from going above five miles from their habitations. Warrants were issued for the seizure of the earl of Powys, the viscount Stafford, and the barons Petre, Belassyse, and Arundel of Wardour, who, as well as many papists of inferior rank, were committed to prison on the testimony of Otes¹⁹.

The zealous attachment of the presumptive heir of the crown to the Romish religion had long alarmed the people; and the knowledge of the duke's arbitrary, imperious, and obstinate temper, increased the apprehensions which had arisen from his adoption of a faith which the nation abhorred. The idea of excluding him from the succession had long been cherished by a great part of the community; by many, from a sincere regard for the established constitution both in church and state; by some, from private animosity;

19. Ralph's Charles II.—Grey's Debates.—Kennet.

by others, from turbulence and faction. The embittered odium with which the papists were now assailed, pointed out the present occasion as favorable for the attempts of those who wished to annihilate the influence of their patron, and disappoint his hopes of royalty. By way of prelude to the proposed exclusion, lord Russell moved, in the lower house, for an address to the king, desiring him to order the duke to "withdraw himself from his person and councils." This proposition was supported by lord Cavendish, Sir Nicholas Carew, colonel Birch, and other members; but the majority agreed to defer the question. Hearing of this motion, and suspecting the views of the promoters of it, the king repaired to the upper house; and, having expressed his gratitude to his parliamentary subjects for the loyal zeal which they had manifested for his preservation from the danger which had threatened him, assured them that whatever reasonable bills they should present to him, calculated to ensure their safety in the reign of a popish successor, provided they should not infringe the right of succession, or restrain the just rights of a protestant king, should meet with his ready assent²⁰. By thus promising to agree to such securities as might prevent the danger which they apprehended from a catholic prince, he hoped to soothe them into a dereliction of those violent schemes which tended to the exclusion of the lawful heir of the crown.

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Nov. 4.

Nov. 9.

Proceeding in the investigation of the plot, the two houses were gratified with the testimony of a miscreant named Bedloe, who added various improbabilities to those of Otes. From his information, more catholics were ordered to be imprisoned; and the plot was now

20. Grey's Debates, vol. vi.

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so generally believed, that it was dangerous for any individual to hint a doubt of it. Whoever professed any scepticism on that head, was deemed an enemy to his country, and branded as a papist; an appellation to which the prejudices of the times annexed every thing that was horrid and detestable.

In the hope of obtaining the reward of 500 pounds, offered for the discovery of the perpetrators of Godfrey's murder, Bedloe charged some Jesuits with that crime, and mentioned many particulars relative to the commission of it. This ruffian afterwards ventured, in concurrence with Otes, to accuse the queen of having entered into the conspiracy against her husband's life²¹. This atrocious calumny (which was perhaps suggested by Buckingham and Shaftesbury, whose desire of excluding the duke of York had before prompted them to suggest irregular measures for obtaining a divorce between Charles and his queen, that a new marriage might afford a chance of issue) excited the indignation of the king, who commanded the strict confinement of Otes; but, at the desire of the commons, who affected to consider that informer as the preserver of the nation, he was indulged with his liberty. That house countenanced the charge against the queen, by desiring Charles to remove her and all her attendants from his court. In the warmth of their zeal against papists, the commons passed a bill for excluding from parliament all persons who should refuse to abjure transubstantiation and other Romish absurdities. The peers agreed to it with a proviso in favor of the duke of York; and this exception, notwithstanding all the efforts of the duke's opponents, received the assent of the lower house. The

Nov. 30.

king gave his sanction to this bill, but refused it to ano-

21. Burnet, vol. I.—Grey.

ther which was offered to him at the same time on the subject of the militia, and which he considered as encroaching on his authority. As the vote of the preceding session, for the dismissal of the forces, had not been put in execution by Charles, who alleged the expediency of keeping them up till the ratification of the peace of Nimeguen, the commons now renewed their entreaties on that head, and requested that the troops sent to Flanders might be immediately recalled, and disbanded with the rest. The irregularity of applying to the continuance of an army that money which had been voted for disbanding it, formed one of the articles of accusation now brought forward against the lord-treasurer, whom the popular faction wished to remove from his station. Other articles related to his interfering in matters of peace and war beyond the bounds of his office, and to a negotiation with the court of France for procuring six millions of livres *per annum* for three years, in consideration of the endeavours of Charles to obtain from the allied powers favorable terms for Lewis. An epistle of the treasurer²², containing instructions of this nature to Montague, the English ambassador at Paris, had been communicated to the commons by the latter, in consequence of a breach between him and the minister; and such a discovery had kindled that flame in the house which terminated in the earl's impeachment. He was also accused of having concealed the popish plot, though he had studiously promoted the inquiry into it; of having wasted the king's treasure, and enriched himself by indirect means. Some of these charges he denied: the others he excused by pleading the royal authority for his proceedings. This impeachment, as well as that of the five imprisoned

22. Dated March 25, 1678, a few days after a supply had been granted for a French war.

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catholic peers, received a sudden check from the prorogation of the two houses²³. Disgusted at the fury with which the commons had entered into the discussion of the plot, as well as at other parts of their conduct, and apprehensive of their further attempts to the prejudice of the duke of York, Charles now resolved on the dissolution of the parliament, after it's duration had exceeded seventeen years. The warmth of loyalty with which it commenced had gradually subsided, when the king's misgovernment had given cause of displeasure, and strong suspicions prevailed of his views of triumphing, with the assistance of a foreign power, over the laws which he had sworn to maintain, and the privileges of those whom he was bound to protect.

The first catholic victim to the rage of the people was Stayley, a banker, who was not, however, condemned for any share in the plot, but for having uttered treasonable words against the king. The witnesses to whom he owed his death were men of profligate characters. Coleman was the next sufferer. He was indicted for conspiring the death of the king, and the subversion of the protestant religion; and was convicted by a prejudiced jury on the evidence of Otes and Bedloe. Ireland, Grove, and Pickering, were afterwards condemned on a similar accusation, and executed. These unfortunate men, in their last moments, made solemn protestations of their innocence; but, as they were catholics, their assertions met with no credit from the people. Hill, Green, and Berry, were tried for the murder of Godfrey, one Prance having been instigated to join Bedloe in giving evidence against them; and being condemned, notwithstanding the apparent insufficiency of the evidence, they also suffered death. After

²³. Grey's Debates, vol. vi.—Ralph.

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an interval of some months, Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits in England, and four others of the same society, were tried for a concern in the supposed plot, and executed as traitors. Langhorne, an eminent professor of the law, was the next victim. Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, and three Benedictine monks, were tried soon after on the same charge; but the jury, less partial and prejudiced than those who had given the former verdicts, acquitted them. Besides the papists who suffered in the city, several were tried and put to death in different parts of the country, for having occasionally officiated as Romish priests, in repugnance to the act of the 27th year of queen Elizabeth; a statute which it was cruel to enforce²⁴.

Extraordinary exertions were made both by the court and country party (as the two factions were called) to influence the elections of the new parliament which Charles, in the hope of a beneficial change, had thought proper to call when he dissolved the former. In this contest the opponents of the court prevailed; and, from the intelligence which the king received with regard to the choice of representatives, he had reason to expect an in compliant house of commons. When the two houses met, he assured them of his zeal against popery, and of his earnest desire of uniting the minds of all his subjects both to him and to each other; recommended the most dispassionate behaviour; and requested a speedy supply. Till the storm which had arisen against the duke of York should abate, he had desired him to retire to the continent; and that prince, who always readily obeyed the royal commands, had repaired with his family to Brussels. This dismissal of his nearest relative the king mentioned to the parliament, as a

Mar. 6.

24. Ralph.—Kennet.—State Trials.

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proof of his eagerness to "remove all causes which
" could be pretended to influence him towards
" popish counsels ²⁵."

The appointment of a speaker gave rise to a dispute between Charles and the commons. They re-elected Edward Seymour; but he rejected their choice. The chancellor of the exchequer (Sir John Ernle) recommended Sir Thomas Meres; but they insisted on retaining Seymour. At length it was agreed that neither of these candidates should be chosen; and serjeant Gregory, being called to the chair, was confirmed in his office by the king. The popish plot, and the impeachment of Danby, were now revived. To rescue the earl from the rage of his accusers, Charles had granted him, since the dissolution, a full pardon for every offence of which he had been guilty; but, to soothe the commons, he deprived him of the post of high treasurer, and prohibited him from appearing at court. The earl having absconded, a bill was prepared for compelling him to surrender himself to justice, under the penalty of an attainder. This peremptory measure occasioned his appearance at Westminster; and the lords immediately sent him to the Tower. The royal pardon was voted by the commons to be illegal, as having been granted to a person lying under an impeachment from them; and they sent a message to the peers to demand judgment. The latter promised to hold a court for ascertaining the validity of the pardon; but the proceedings were obstructed by a dispute which occurred with regard to the presence of the bishops in that court, the commons insisting on their exclusion from it, and the lords maintaining the contrary opinion ²⁶.

On the removal of the lord-treasurer, who had for some years enjoyed the greatest influence in the cabi-

25. Grey's Debates.—Kennet.

26. Burnet, vol. i.—Ralph.

net, an important change took place in the administration. By the advice of Sir William Temple, Charles dissolved the privy council, and constituted another in the following manner. He limited the number of members to thirty, exclusive of the president, the princes of the blood, and the secretary of state for Scotland. He resolved that fifteen of them should be selected as occupants of the chief stations in the church, the law, the treasury, the household, and the navy; while the other moiety should be composed of persons who, without holding any office, possessed the confidence of the parliament and people. By thus admitting the chief opponents of the court into a share of the government, he hoped to gratify the wishes of the public, and repress the licentiousness of faction. Before the adoption of this new model of the council, some changes had taken place in the official departments. The treasury had been put in commission, Arthur earl of Essex (son of lord Capel, who was beheaded for his loyalty to Charles I.) being intrusted with the direction of it, in conjunction with Sir John Ernle, Sir Edward Dering, Sydney Godolphin, and Laurence Hyde, second son of the lord-chancellor Clarendon. Sir Joseph Williamson (who, on the removal of the earl of Arlington to the post of chamberlain of the household, had succeeded him in that of secretary of state), finding himself obnoxious to the commons, who had sent him to the Tower for favoring the papists, had resigned his office to Robert earl of Sunderland for a pecuniary gratification. Sir Henry Capel, who, as well as his brother the earl of Essex, had been for some time connected with the popular party, accepted the employment of first commissioner of the admiralty; and others of the same faction were joined in the commission. The earl of Shaftesbury was ap-

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pointed president of the new council; and, among other leaders of the opposition whom the king received into that assembly, were the lords Halifax, Holles, Cavendish, and Russel. He declared, that, instead of being guided by a single minister, or a select committee, or by private advice, he would not take any steps of consequence without the concurrence of a majority of this council ²⁷.

The change of the ministry had no effect towards diverting the current in which the late proceedings of the commons had run. Shaftesbury, finding that his influence at court was subordinate to that of Essex, Sunderland, and Halifax, continued his intrigues with the party which he pretended to quit, and retained that powerful interest which he had acquired in both houses. Buckingham, being excluded from the new council, studiously inflamed the disgust of others who had not been honored with a preference to which they thought themselves entitled, and promoted all the violent measures of the adversaries of the court. Influenced by these leaders, the commons unanimously voted, that the prospect of the devolution of the crown to the duke of York, an avowed papist, had given the greatest encouragement to the conspiracies of the catholics against the king and the protestant religion. Apprehending that this vote would soon be followed by a bill for the duke's exclusion, Charles endeavoured to obviate that measure by proposing specific limitations for a popish successor, which would transfer the chief branches of regal power into the hands of the parliament. But the violence of party in some, and more justifiable incentives in others, occasioned the rejection of the limitations; and it was deemed more prudent to

Ap. 30.

27. Temple's Memoirs, third part.—Kennet.

insist on the exclusion of a prince whose known character was calculated to excite strong apprehensions among the friends of civil and religious liberty. Sir Thomas Player therefore moved, that a bill should be introduced for excluding papists in general, and the duke of York in particular, from the English throne. This motion, after a warm debate, was adopted, as far as it regarded the duke; but the short remainder of the session prevented the bill from passing the house in this year²⁸.

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May 11.

Complaint being made of the corruption practised by the court, for the purpose of securing a majority, an inquiry was made by the commons into that abuse; and it appeared that pensions had been regularly paid to various members of the last parliament, and considerable presents made to others, to secure their compliance with the measures of government. A bill was brought in to vacate the seats of such members as should receive pensions or places of profit; but it was not carried into effect²⁹.

The valuable bill for the prevention of arbitrary imprisonment, well known under the appellation of the *habeas corpus* act, was the produce of this session. An useful bill was brought forward for regulating parliamentary elections; but it was not completed. A supply was voted for disbanding the army, though the commons refused to contribute to the payment of the king's debts. The proceedings with regard to the impeachment of the earl of Danby, and of the five popish lords, occasioned a dispute between the houses; of which the king taking advantage, put an end, by an unexpected prorogation, to a session which had given him

May 27.

²⁸. Grey's Debates, vol. vii.—Ralph.

²⁹. Ralph, p. 449.

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much displeasure. This step was taken without the sanction of his new council; for, regardless of his promise, he did not even submit the proposal to the consideration of that assembly; nor did he take the general advice of its members when he resolved on the dissolution of the parliament. In these measures he was only influenced by the triumvirate (Effex, Sunderland, and Halifax); or, rather, he prevailed on those three counsellors to submit to his inclinations. This conduct filled Shaftesbury and his faction with violent indignation, and produced loud clamors among the people³⁰.

July 10. Soon after the prorogation, Charles was alarmed with the intelligence of an insurrection in his northern realm. The government of Scotland, since his restoration, had been successively administered by the earls of Middleton, Rothes, and Tweeddale, and by the duke of Lauderdale. Episcopacy having been re-established in that kingdom, all those who still adhered to the presbyterian system had been rigorously persecuted by the prelates, particularly by Sharp, who had been tempted by the lure of the archbishopric of St. Andrew's to renounce the doctrines of the kirk. A series of oppressions, to which the non-conformists were subjected, prompted about 2000 of them to take arms in 1666, and march towards Edinburgh; but, not being reinforced as they expected, they despaired of success, and above half of their number had separated, when the remainder sustained an attack near the Pentland hills from a body of the king's forces, which terminated in the defeat of the insurgents, forty-five of whom were hanged³¹. A relaxation of severity had followed this rebellion; but, after Lauderdale had been appointed high commissioner in 1669, every species of civil, eccle-

30. Ralph's Charles II.—Burnet.

31. Burnet, vol. i.
fiastical,

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1679.

fastical, and military tyranny, had been practised. Charles connived at the enormities of his representative; and, though he was frequently requested to remove so iniquitous a minister from all public employment, he suffered him to retain the chief share in the administration of Scotland, and no small influence in that of England. Inflamed by repeated outrages, the covenanters again took arms. A party of them murdered the obnoxious primate; though some say that he fell by the hands of individuals who had received private injuries from him. Considerable bodies, armed for resistance, held conventicles in the fields, where they were occasionally attacked by the troops of the government. A detachment of the latter, having engaged a body of presbyterians near Glasgow, suffered a defeat; and the victorious party, taking possession of that town, began to entertain a confidence of success. Their numbers increasing, the earl of Linlithgow was sent against them; but, pretending that he had not a sufficient force to cope with them, he did not endeavour to suppress them. As soon as the king was informed of this commotion, he ordered James duke of Monmouth, the eldest of his natural sons, to hasten into North-Britain with a body of English, reinforce himself with the loyal Scots, and attack the rebellious covenanters. The duke having met with their army at the bridge of Bothwell, an engagement ensued. The insurgents were soon dislodged from the bridge; and, though, after their adversaries had passed it, they renewed the fight with spirit, and repelled a body of Highlanders, they were totally routed after a short conflict. Above 500 of them were slain, and about 1200 were made prisoners. At the duke's intercession, Charles granted

June 22.

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an indemnity to the covenanters, and suffered them to hold religious assemblies; but the malignant influence of Lauderdale prevented the full effect of these favors ³².

32. Burnet, vol. i. — Letters of Algernon Sydney. — Ralph's Charles II.

C H A P. VI.

The commons pass a bill for the exclusion of the duke of York from the throne ;—but it is rejected by the peers.—The viscount Stafford is put to death for his supposed concern in the popish plot.—Two parliaments are abruptly dissolved on account of the spirited proceedings of the commons.—The king invades the franchises of the corporations.—The Rye-house plot is discovered.—Lord Russel and Algernon Sydney are condemned and executed.—Charles acquires a power almost absolute.—His death and character.

THE popular leaders, particularly the earl of Shaftesbury, had for some time studiously cultivated the good graces of the duke of Monmouth, whose limited capacity, and facility of temper, gave them an opportunity of swaying him at their will, while his ambition prompted him to indulge those hopes of royalty with which they flattered him. They had propagated a report that a contract had passed between his mother and the king ; and, though it was solemnly disavowed by the latter, they pretended that he was ashamed of acknowledging himself the husband of Mrs. Walters, and was also influenced to a concealment of that circumstance by his subserviency to the views of the duke of York. The exterior accomplishments of Monmouth, his engaging affability, his courage, humanity, and generosity, had procured him a high degree of popularity ; and, as he was a firm protestant, it was the wish of many that, though an illegitimate son, he might suc-

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ceed Charles on the throne, in preference to a catholic prince, whose absurd bigotry, and obstinate severity of temper, rendered him the object of dread and of hatred. The king, who had a great affection for the duke his son, had conferred on him several posts of honor and emolument; but, being displeased at his connexions with the demagogues, he began to withdraw his countenance from him.

August.

Being seized with an indisposition, Charles secretly recalled the duke of York from the Netherlands, that he might be ready, in case of emergency, to counteract the intrigues of Monmouth and Shaftesbury. After his return, he so effectually exerted his influence over his brother, as to prevail on him to deprive the young duke of his commission of captain-general of the forces, and send him beyond sea. Monmouth obeyed his father's commands, and passed over to Holland; while his uncle, on the king's complete recovery, returned to the Low Countries, where he did not long remain before he received the royal permission to fix his residence in Scotland. Weary of a state of exile, Monmouth returned to England in the beginning of the winter, without the consent of Charles. The populace expressed an extravagant joy at his arrival; and Shaftesbury and his confederates received him with open arms.

To amuse the credulity of the public, another plot was now fabricated. The person who broached it was Dangerfield, a contemptible miscreant, who had contaminated himself by a series of guilt. He informed the king, that Monmouth, Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and others of the same faction, had projected the subversion of the present government; but, his in-

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1679.

formation being considered as false, he was committed to prison². He then framed a long narrative, tending to prove that the catholics had bribed him to render the protestant leaders odious, by imputing to them the guilt of a pretended plot against the king, in return for their eagerness to criminate the Romish party. No regard was paid by unprejudiced persons to either of the accounts given by this impostor; but each made use of his depositions to throw blame on the other³.

Though a new parliament had been summoned to meet in the autumn, it was deferred by repeated prorogations till the same season in the following year, to the great disgust of the adversaries of the court. During that interval, some changes occurred in the new council, and in the official departments of state. Shaftesbury was removed from the dignity of president, which was conferred on lord Roberts, lately created earl of Radnor. Lord Russel and others resigned their seats in the council. The earl of Essex relinquished the post of first commissioner of the treasury, in which he was succeeded by Laurence Hyde, whose station was filled by Sir Stephen Fox. The offices which the duke of Monmouth had enjoyed were distributed among persons who were not leagued with that nobleman's faction. Sir Henry Capel retired from the admiralty; Daniel Finch succeeded him as first commissioner; and the new members of that board were lord Brouncker and Sir Thomas Littleton. Henry Coventry, who had been secretary of state near eight years, resigned his office to Sir Leoline Jenkins, judge of the admiralty. The ministers whom the king chiefly regarded, at this time, were the earl of Sunderland, Hyde, and Godolphin⁴.

2. As some papers relative to this plot were found in a meal-tub, it was denominated *the meal-tub plot*.

3. Burnet, vol. i.—Ralph.

4. Kennet's Charles II.—Burnet.

With

A. D.
1679.

With regard to the foreign affairs of this period, it appears that Charles, to convince the public of his desire of checking the ambitious views of the French king, proposed to the states-general the formation of a new league against that monarch^s; but the Gallic interest was so prevalent in Holland, that all the endeavours of the prince of Orange, the great enemy of Lewis, could not bring the states into a compliance with the proposal; to which, in all probability, his Britannic majesty did not wish them to agree.

1680.

The protraction of the meeting of parliament aroused the clamors of the people; and petitions for the speedy commencement of a session were presented to the king from various parts of the country. Charles prohibited these addresses by proclamation; and his partisans counterbalanced them by others of a different complexion, in which they expressed their decided abhorrence of the disloyalty of those who presumed to dictate to their sovereign on this occasion. The promoters of these opposite addresses were respectively called *petitioners* and *abhorers*; but these appellations soon gave way to those of *Whig* and *Tory*, by which the covenanters of Scotland, and the catholics of Ireland, had been before distinguished.

Oct. 21.

When the king at length permitted the two houses to assemble, he informed them of a defensive alliance which he had concluded with Spain; renewed his assurances of supporting the protestant religion; recommended the prosecution of the inquiry into the popish plot; and earnestly hoped that a perfect harmony and union might take place. Though he cautioned them against all attempts to violate the order of succession, the commons, in one of their first votes, declared that

A. D.
1686.

Nov. 4.

they would proceed effectually to the prevention of a popish successor; and a new bill was introduced to disable the duke of York from inheriting the crown^o. The earl of Shaftesbury, accompanied by the earl of Huntingdon, the lords Russel and Cavendish, and others of his party, had lately presented, to the grand jury of Middlesex, reasons for indicting the duke as a popish recusant; and, though the dismissal of the jurors prevented them from deciding on the presentment, he was in some degree satisfied with having embarked his followers in a measure which would remove all probability of an accommodation between them and the duke, and thus dispose them to promote the exclusion of that prince for their own security. The earl's faction, therefore, warmly supported the bill in both houses. The chief speakers, among the commons, who undertook the defence of this violent though not unjustifiable bill, were, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Henry Capel, lord Russel, the colonels Titus and Birch, Sir William Pulteney, Hampden, Trenchard, Boscawen, Montague, and Wharton. It was principally opposed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, Hyde, Finch, and Seymour. In the upper house, it's chief advocates were the earls of Shaftesbury, Effex, and Sunderland; and it's most formidable enemy was the earl of Halifax, who eminently displayed his eloquence

6. It was entitled, "a bill for securing the protestant religion, by disabling James duke of York to inherit the imperial crown of England and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging." It provided, that the duke should be for ever excluded from the throne; that, if he should claim any right of dominion, or attempt to exercise any act of regal authority, within those realms, or their dependencies, he should suffer the punishment of a traitor; that all who should support his pretensions should be punished in the same manner; and that he should be perpetually banished from those kingdoms.

and

A. D.
1680.

Nov. 15.

and abilities in this important debate. The question being put for the rejection of the bill, it was thrown out by a majority of thirty-three peers⁷.

The arguments adduced in support of the bill were chiefly these. It was alleged, that, as the duke was strongly inflamed with popish zeal, he would, if he should ever ascend the throne, pursue violent measures for the propagation of his own tenets; that the consequence of his being suffered to rule would be the subjection both of the church and state to the rigorous sway of catholic bigots, whose sanguinary spirit would be inflamed to extraordinary cruelty by the remembrance of those laws which the protestants had enacted against them; that the civil and religious tyranny which might naturally be expected to flow from his accession, would either render the people complete slaves, or would, in the event of their resistance, entail on the community all the horrors of intestine war; that, as both those consequences might be prevented by the exclusion of a popish successor, the necessity of the case justified a deviation from the strict rules of hereditary right, which would otherwise merit a scrupulous attention; that, if such a procedure should wear an aspect of injustice, the only blame would be imputable to the infatuation and the prejudices of the duke himself, who had renounced the faith in which he had been educated for the adoption of a system proscribed by the laws of his country, and execrated by those over whom he wished to rule; that all limitations would be insufficient to curb the spirit of such a prince; and that the public tranquillity and happiness, which could never take place while the sovereign and the people pursued incompatible interests, could only be secured by

7. Grey's and Chandler's Debates.—Burnet.—Kennet.

the exertion of that plenitude of power which resided in the legislature, and by the express incapacitation of an obnoxious heir from the privilege of reigning.

A. D.
1680.

It was urged by the opposite party, that the right of succession was an essential part of the constitution, and ought therefore to be utterly inviolable; that even the parliament had no right to alter this fundamental law of the monarchy; or, if it had that right, it would be highly inexpedient, as well as unjust, to exercise it on the sole ground of a difference of religion; that the proposed exclusion would be productive of greater mischiefs than those which were apprehended from the duke's accession to the crown, as it would not only occasion a civil war, but would subject the excluders to the hostilities of the catholic potentates of Europe, who would maintain the cause of the injured duke as their own; and that the limitations to which the king had promised his assent were amply sufficient to obviate all fears of his brother's encroachments on the liberties or the religion of the nation.

The rejection of the bill of exclusion so irritated the commons, that, in answer to the king's desire of a supply for the relief of Tangier, they agreed to an expostulatory address, attributing the distressed condition of that garrison to the influence of popish counsels, recapitulating the most reprehensible measures of his reign, and declining the grant of a subsidy till they should have received satisfactory assurances of his intention of discarding all the friends of popery, whose pernicious advice would otherwise occasion a subversion of the religion and privileges of the people. They also addressed him, but without effect, for the dismissal of the earl of Halifax, whose able speech against their favorite bill had inflamed them with resentment ⁸.

8. Chandler's Debates, vol. i.

A. D.
1680.

The conduct of the *abhorers* having exposed them to the displeasure of the leaders of the lower house, Sir Francis Wythens was deprived of his seat for his concurrence with that party; and many persons were taken into custody for the same offence. The commons also vented their indignation upon some individuals who had denied the existence of a popish plot; and, not satiated with the blood of those who had already fallen victims to the public animosity against the catholics, they resolved to offer up another sacrifice. Lord Stafford, an old man of little capacity, was selected for that purpose from the number of the impeached popish noblemen; and being tried by his peers, he was pronounced guilty⁹ of a conspiracy against the king's person, the church, and the state, on the evidence of Otes and other witnesses of the same stamp. He denied the guilt imputed to him, and protested that he had only endeavoured to procure a relaxation of the rigor of the penal laws against the papists, to which, he thought, no one could annex the criminality of treason. He was
Dec. 29. beheaded at the usual place, undergoing his severe fate with the utmost fortitude¹⁰.

Several impeachments were voted by the commons in this session, without being carried into effect. The objects of these accusations were the chief justices Scrogges and North, and the *puisné* judges Jones and Weston, for supposed irregularities in their official conduct; Seymour, treasurer of the navy, for misapplication of the public money; and Thomson, a divine, for decrying the popish plot. To strengthen the belief of this plot, endeavours had been used to obtain evidence from Ireland; and such testimony as suited the views of the popular chiefs had been at length procured by

9. By a majority of twenty-four.

10. State Trials.—Ralph.
the

A. D.
1681.

the encouragement which was given to informers. Hence arose a vote of each house, importing a full persuasion of the existence of a catholic conspiracy in Ireland, for the same purposes to which the English-plot had been directed. Many papists were thrown into prison, in consequence of the information of Hibernian witnesses; and Oliver Plunket, titular archbishop of Armagh, was brought over to England, tried, condemned, and executed, on very improbable evidence of guilt ¹¹.

The king having repeated his request of a supply, and his promise of agreeing to the most effectual limitations of a popish successor, a new address was voted by the commons, expatiating on the dangers and mischiefs which accompanied the expectation of a catholic reign, as well as on the "certain and unspeakable evils" which would befall the nation, if the duke of York should inherit the crown; and desiring the royal assent to a bill for the exclusion of that prince, and to another for a protestant association. Charles, in reply, signified his decided aversion to the scheme of exclusion; at which the commons were so incensed, as to pass Jan 7 some offensive votes, intimating that there was no security for the protestant religion, the king's life, or the well-constituted government of this kingdom, without an act for disabling the duke from the succession; that no supply could prudently be given till such a law should have been enacted; that all who had advised the king to oppose this measure, were pernicious counsellors, promoters of popery, and enemies to him and the kingdom; and that he should be requested to give a final dismissal to the marquis of Worcester, the earls of Halifax, Clarendon, and Feversham, Laurence Hyde,

11. Burnet, vol. i.—Kennet.

A. D.
1681.

Jan. 10.

Jan. 18.

and Edward Seymour. They also denounced vengeance against all who should lend money to the king on the credit of his revenue. To check their career, Charles resolved on a prorogation; but, before he summoned them to the house of peers to impart that resolution to them, they hastily voted, that whoever had advised that step was a betrayer of the king, the protestant religion, and the realm, a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France; that the fire of London had been contrived by the papists, with a view of introducing their own religion, as well as arbitrary power, into the kingdom; that the thanks of the house should be given to the citizens for their loyalty and protestant zeal; that his majesty should be solicited to restore the duke of Monmouth to those offices and commands of which the influence of the duke of York had deprived him; and that the prosecution of protestant dissenters, on the penal laws, was at this time a dangerous proceeding, and an encouragement of popery. In consequence of these unpleasing votes, Charles, soon after the prorogation, dissolved the parliament; and, though he at the same time convoked another, he ordered it to meet at Oxford, that the opponents of the court might no longer be stimulated to violent counsels by the favor and protection of a powerful metropolis. The duke of Monmouth, the earls of Essex and Shaftesbury, and thirteen other noblemen, presented a petition to the king, remonstrating against his intention of holding a parliament at Oxford, where, they said, "the
" lords and commons would be daily exposed to the
" swords of the papists and their adherents, of whom
" too many had crept into his guards; so that the li-
" berty of speaking according to their consciences
" would be destroyed, and the validity of their proceed-
" ings

A. D.
1681.

"ings left disputable." Charles, far from yielding to so offensive a petition, was the more confirmed in his resolution of removing the assembly to a city in which his adversaries had less influence than in the capital ¹².

The new elections were unfavorable to the court; and many of the members were instructed by their constituents to promote the exclusion of the duke of York from the throne. The leaders of both parties were accompanied, in their journey to Oxford, by armed dependents; and that city exhibited an extraordinary appearance of factious bustle and turbulent parade. In the spirited harangue with which the king opened the session, he reprobated the "unwarrantable proceedings" of the last house of commons; declared that, "as he would never use arbitrary government himself, he would not suffer it in others;" intimated that the preservation of the liberty of the subject was as much his interest as it was that of the two houses, and would be as much his care; and hoped that they would be equally careful of the just prerogatives of the crown, and that the rules and measures of all their votes would be the established laws of the land, by which his conduct would also be regulated ¹³.

Mar. 25.

The zeal of the commons for the scheme of exclusion soon displayed itself, in the revival of the bill against the duke. The ministerial party proposed some expedients, by which the protestant religion might be secured without the violence of exclusion. The idea of a regency, in particular, was suggested; by which the royal power would be placed in other hands, while the duke should enjoy only the title of king. But the leaders of opposition, imagining that their firmness and

¹². Kennet.—Chandler's Debates.

¹³. Chandler's Debates, vol. ii.—Ralph.

A. D.
1681.

perseverance would at length overpower the reluctance of Charles to their designs against his brother, insisted on an absolute incapacitation of the latter from enjoying either the title or the power of a king. They were disappointed, however, in their hopes; for their sovereign, suspecting that, if he should yield to them in the important business of the succession, they would endeavour to prosecute their triumph over him to the ruin of his prerogative, resolved to exert unusual spirit in resisting their aims, and to trust to his remaining popularity, as well as to the factious obstinacy of his opposers, for the vindication of his conduct.

From the violent odium under which the catholics now labored, a desire of relieving the protestant dissenters had become prevalent, that they might not be induced, from animosity against the established church, to relax in their zeal against the Romanists, at a time when the reformed system was supposed to be endangered by the machinations of the latter. A bill had passed both houses for the exemption of the protestant sectaries from the penalties of the act of the 35th year of Elizabeth; but, on the prorogation of the last parliament, it had not been presented to the king for his assent, in consequence (it is said) of a private order from him to the clerk. The commons now complained of this irregularity; and the matter was referred to a conference with the peers; but the shortness of the session prevented the investigation of it¹⁴.

The affair of Fitz-harris occasioned much conversation at this period. This man, who was an Hibernian papist, and had been employed by the court as a spy, framed a scurrilous and inflammatory libel against the king and his brother, in conjunction with one Eve-

14. Grey's Debates, vol. viii. — Burnet, vol. i.

A. D.
1681.

ward, an agent of the opposite faction. It was affirmed by this party, that he had been instructed by the court to decoy Everard into a concern in the libel, that he might afterwards prevail on him to endeavour to purchase pardon by accusing the demagogues, not only of being the authors of it, but of having formed an intention of rendering it subservient to an insurrection. It was asserted, on the other hand, by the adherents of the court, that Fitz-harris had been employed by the earl of Shaftesbury to compose the libel, with a view of rendering the king and his ministers odious, by representing it as an artifice contrived by them for the purpose of loading their adversaries with the false imputation of an intended rebellion. These opinions have been warmly supported by different writers. But we may perhaps judge rightly if we reject both those accounts, and suppose that Fitz-harris, like Dangerfield, acted more from his own views than from the instigation of others. He at first favored the court by his testimony; and afterwards promoted the views of the popular faction. The king having ordered that he should be tried at common law, the lower house, desirous of making use of some evidence which he had given against the duke of York, whom he charged with a concern in the popish plot, resolved to bring the affair into their own hands by impeaching him. The peers, however, rejected the impeachment. The commons then voted, that this rejection was a denial of justice, and a violation of the constitution of parliaments; and that it would be a high breach of parliamentary privilege for any inferior court to proceed against Fitz-harris, or any other person who should be in a similar predicament. In the midst of this altercation between the houses, Charles, whose indignation was kindled by

A. D.
1681.
Mar. 28.

the zeal which the commons had displayed against the duke, suddenly dissolved the parliament ¹⁵.

To justify the abrupt dissolution of two parliaments, the king published a statement of the reasons of his conduct. In this declaration, which he ordered to be read in all the churches of the realm, he mentioned, with symptoms of disgust, the ill return which the commons had made to his gracious promises; their addresses of complaint and expostulation; their arbitrary orders for taking his subjects into custody; their illegal votes; and their obstinate perseverance in the unjustifiable bill of exclusion. In answer to the royal manifesto, vindications of the proceedings of the commons were published; and, from these appeals to the people, the spirit of party was propagated and cherished.

The consternation which the late dissolution had diffused among the king's opponents, added to the confidence with which his firmness had inspired his adherents, gave him an undoubted victory, of which he resolved to take advantage. The efforts which had been made to infringe the order of succession, had alarmed the friends of monarchy, who were apprehensive that a breach of that rule would lead to great irregularities; and their fears were heightened by the suggestions of the emissaries of the court, who represented the leaders of opposition as aiming at the subversion of kingly government. The clergy were taught to believe, that the ruin of the episcopal system would follow the success of the popular confederacy, and that it was therefore their interest to give the most vigorous support to the crown. A great number of persons, of all denominations, were also induced to join the king on the present occasion, from a recollection of the calamities which

15. Ralph's and Kennet's Charles II.—Burnet.

the civil war of the last reign had produced, and a dread of the return of similar mischiefs, which, they thought, would most effectually be prevented by making the scale preponderate in favor of their sovereign. Thus was Charles enabled to form a very powerful party, by whose countenance he triumphed over the demagogues, and rendered himself, in a great measure, master of his people.

A. D.
1681.

Notwithstanding the prohibitory vote of the commons, the court of king's-bench proceeded to the trial of Fitz-harris, whom the king, displeased at his late depositions, resolved not to spare. He was tried for the above-mentioned libel, condemned as a traitor, and executed. His final declarations tended to charge the partisans of Shaftesbury with having suborned him to make some pretended discoveries respecting the popish plot; but the knowledge of his unprincipled character threw a mist of doubt over all his assertions¹⁶.

July 1.

Some of those impostors who had given evidence against the catholics, were now brought over to criminate the enemies of that sect; and College, a bold, active man, known by the appellation of *the protestant joiner*, was, on their testimony, pronounced guilty of having conspired to seize the king at Oxford, though he made such a defence as convinced all impartial persons of the perjury of his accusers. His whole guilt consisted in having appeared in arms during the meeting of parliament, and having uttered some passionate expressions against the king. At his execution, he made the most solemn asseverations of his innocence. Before his trial, his patron, the earl of Shaftesbury, was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason; and endeavours were made to influence a grand jury to

Aug 31.

16. Ralph.—Burnet.

A. D.
1681:

Nov. 24.

find a bill of indictment against that obnoxious leader ; but, though a draught of an association, for opposing by arms the accession of the duke of York to the throne, had been found among his papers, the jury rejected the bill ; and the earl recovered his liberty after a confinement of near five months, on entering into a recognisance for his future appearance ¹⁷.

By the intrigues of the court, numerous addresses were procured from various parts of the realm, applauding the declaration which the king had issued, justifying his conduct, and magnifying his prerogative. Some of these addresses particularly reprobated the scheme of an association against the duke : most of them were filled with such fulsome strains of adulation, as disgraced the cause which they were intended to support ; and so violent was the zeal for the power of the crown, that the divine right of kings, and the servile doctrines of unlimited submission, passive obedience, and absolute non-resistance, were openly and warmly maintained ¹⁸.

While the king was prosecuting the advantage which he had gained in England, his brother was employed in strengthening the yoke under which the Scots had long groaned. Such laws were adopted as the court enjoined ; such judicial sentences as gratified royal malice were pronounced ; and, though the duke's government was less oppressive than that of Lauderdale, it was not distinguished by mildness or humanity.

1682.

In a visit which he made to Charles, he obtained the consent of that monarch for a constant residence in this kingdom. He then returned to Scotland to settle the administration, and bring away the duchess. In his

17. State-Trials.—Ralph.

18. Burnet, vol. i. Ralph.

voyage, he was exposed to great danger; for his ship struck on a sand-bank, and he narrowly escaped by the aid of a boat. The earl of Roxburgh, and other persons of rank, perished on this occasion, with above 130 seamen. Having safely arrived in the northern capital, the duke made some changes among the officers of state, and gave various instructions for their conduct; then hastened to the south of the Tweed, and took an open part in the direction of the affairs of England ¹⁹.

A. D.
1682.
May 5.

As a majority of the inhabitants of London had encouraged the late opposition to the court, it was the particular wish of Charles to crush the influence of Shaftesbury in that city. By irregular means, two sheriffs of the ministerial party were elected. The nomination of juries being thus in the power of the court, the earl began to be apprehensive of danger; and, being aware of the embittered animosity of his enemies, by whom, he knew, every advantage would be taken against him, he retired to Holland ²⁰, where he died in the beginning of the following year, with the character of an able statesman, an eloquent senator, and an upright judge; qualifications which he disgraced, at one time, by his efforts for subjecting his countrymen to arbitrary sway, and, at another, by the excess of turbulent and factious zeal.

Nov.

To augment his influence in the capital, the king had recourse to a very unjustifiable measure. He pretended, that the corporation had forfeited its charter by two instances of delinquency. One was, the presentation of a petition in which improper reflexions were thrown out against the government; the other, the imposition of a new toll on certain quantities of provisions that were brought to market. The parti-

19. Ralph.—Kennet.

20. Burnet, vol i.

A. D.
1682.

1683.

June 12.

fans of the court endeavoured to prevail on the city to surrender it's charter, that the royal anger might be averted by submission; but, their arts being ineffectual, it was resolved to commit injustice under the forms of law. When the affair was brought forward in the court of king's-bench, it was contended by the advocates for the city, that, if the members of the corporation had been guilty of any crime, they were personally accountable for it; that a body corporate was destined for perpetuity, and, being itself incapable of offence, could not justly be annihilated for the delinquency of any of those who composed it; that the obnoxious parts of the petition only complained of a prorogation which obstructed the prosecution of such purposes as the king and the two houses had expressed a desire of accomplishing; and that the new impost was not only justified by the known privileges of the corporation, but by the great expence to which that body had been subjected in rebuilding the markets after the destructive fire. Notwithstanding this satisfactory defence, the court decreed, on the writ of *quo warranto*, that the king might seize the franchises of the city. The mayor, aldermen, and common-council, now presented a petition to Charles, deprecating the effects of his displeasure. Affecting great clemency, he promised to confirm their charter, if they would submit to those regulations which he should prescribe to them, and which tended to subject the city to his disposal. They accepted the offered terms; and were thus deprived of their chief privileges by the artful violence of a domineering prince. Writs of *quo warranto* were also issued against other corporations, whose franchises were inconsistent with the king's arbitrary views; and their charters were either surrendered by the intimidated inhabitants,

A. D.
1683.

habitants, or vacated by the forms of perverted law. When they were restored, considerable sums were demanded for that favor, and such regulations were made as gave the sovereign an influence incompatible with the freedom of the constitution.

Amidst those disturbances which had taken place in the city during the contest for sheriffs in the preceding year, the earl of Shaftesbury had proposed to his confederates an immediate insurrection, with a view of checking the king's career, and intimidating him into an assent to the exclusion of his brother. The duke of Monmouth, the earl of Essex, and lord Ruffel, opposed this precipitate measure; and their caution disgusted the earl, who soon after quitted the kingdom. But, though they condemned the eager impatience which he had manifested for violent proceedings, they did not suffer much time to elapse, before they held conferences, with others of the same party, on the expediency of using force for preventing the completion of that system of tyranny which the royal brothers were visibly endeavouring to establish. Their associates in these meetings were lord Howard of Escricke, Algernon Sydney, brother to the earl of Leicester, and John Hampden, grandson of the celebrated opponent of Charles I. They carried on a correspondence with the earl of Argyle, who, having been condemned to death, by an infamous perversion of law and justice, for having taken a ministerial test according to his own explanation, had escaped from Scotland, and sought refuge in the Dutch territories. This nobleman gladly listened to the proposals of the English malcontents; and some of his countrymen engaged to form a confederacy among the covenanters for opposing by arms the despotic proceedings of the court. During these machinations,

A. D.
1683.

chinations, colonel Rumsey, one of Shaftesbury's dependents, had frequent meetings with West, Ferguson, and other disaffected persons; and, in the treasonable discourses which passed on those occasions, it was proposed that the king and the duke of York should be assassinated²¹; but this flagitious measure was not generally approved by the members even of this inferior cabal; and the idea was rejected with abhorrence by the above-mentioned council of six. In this state of affairs, information of the plot was given to the ministry by Keeling, a salter of London, one of the conspirators; who, being inclined to despair of the success of the scheme, resolved to purchase his own security by disclosing the machinations of the malcontents. West and Rumsey were now prompted, by the consideration of the dangerous predicament in which they stood, to offer their evidence against the other conspirators. Other informers afterwards made their appearance; and lord Howard, as soon as he was apprehended, added himself to the list of witnesses. In consequence of proclamations for the seizure of those who were accused, most of them were quickly found, and thrown into prison²².

The discovery of these intrigues gave rise to a new set of addresses, whose authors congratulated the king on his escape from the danger which had impended over his valuable life, expressed the strongest detestation of the infernal malice of his enemies, and, in the most unreserved manner, offered their lives and fortunes for his service. The triumphant Tories exulted in the

21. A maltster named Rumbold having mentioned the practicability of shooting the king in his return from Newmarket, by means of a party of resolute men stationed at the Rye-house, near Hoddesden, Herts, the conspiracy obtained the denomination of the *Rye-house plot*.

22. Burnet, book iii.—Ralph.

disgrace of their opponents, and urged Charles to treat the factious leaders with exemplary severity. He himself was sufficiently inclined to wreak his vengeance on some of them; and his brother, to whose counsels he was now subservient, studiously checked the influence of clemency.

A. D.
1683.

The trials of the offenders were soon commenced. Captain Walcot was indicted for conspiring the death of the king and the subversion of the government. He was condemned on the evidence of colonel Rumsey and others; and two of his associates, Hone and Rouse, were pronounced guilty of the same crimes. Lord Russel was also tried on a similar charge. It was deposed against him, that he had been designedly present at seditious meetings, and had given his assent to a proposed insurrection. He denied that he had assented to any thing of the kind; and affirmed that no offence whatever was justly imputable to him, except misprision of treason. He condemned the proceedings against him as illegal; observing, that, though the statute of the 25th year of Edward III. on which he was tried, declared the levying of war to be treason, it did not extend that crime to a mere conspiracy for levying war; that two witnesses were necessary to prove an overt act of treason; but that, of the individuals who had testified against him, the evidence of two did not tend to prove the same act; that, even if a consultation for surprising the guards had been manifested by credible testimony, no resolution of that nature had been proved to have been adopted; or, if it had, it was not treason by the act above-mentioned; still less could such a determination be justly represented as an overt act expressive of an intention of killing the king. But his objections were over-ruled by allegations of precedent and con-

July 13.

structions

A. D.
1683.

structions of law; and the jury gave their verdict against him ²³.

The catastrophe of the earl of Essex is supposed to have greatly contributed to influence the jury to condemn lord Ruffel. Intelligence was brought during the trial, that the earl had destroyed himself in the Tower, to avoid the ignominy of being publicly sacrificed; and advantage was taken of that circumstance, by the courtly advocates, to insinuate that the concern of that nobleman in the plot was now sufficiently proved, and that his friend Ruffel was doubtless implicated in the same criminality. The Whigs, on the contrary, did not scruple to affirm, that the earl had been murdered at the instigation of the king and the duke of York, who had visited the Tower on that day. But no real foundation appeared for this bold assertion; for, when his widow commenced an inquiry into the particulars of his death, she did not meet with any grounds for believing that he fell by other hands than his own ²⁴.

From the present temper of the court, lord Ruffel did not expect to be indulged with a pardon; and he resigned himself to his fate with firmness and tranquillity of mind. His friends entreated him to send submissive petitions to the king and the duke, for the purpose of allaying their animosity, and averting his ruin; but it was with difficulty that he was prevailed on to comply so far with their solicitations, as to make an offer of retiring to another country, and never interfering in future in the affairs of England, if the royal clemency should be extended to him. His father, the earl of Bedford, is said to have offered 100,000 pounds as the price of his pardon. His wife, the daughter of the loyal

²³. State-Trials.—Burnet.

²⁴. Burnet, book iii.—Kennet.

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earl of Southampton, conjured the king to remember the services of her father, and weigh them in the balance with the errors of her unfortunate husband. But all applications were fruitless. The vigorous opposition of Russel to the measures of the court, and his avowal of the doctrine of resistance, which he considered as justifiable by the spirit of the constitution, exasperated the arbitrary Charles against him; and the active part which he had taken in the affair of the exclusion rendered the duke an irreconcilable enemy to him. The only favor, therefore, which could be obtained for him, was a mitigation of the ignominious punishment of a traitor into that of decapitation. Lord Cavendish, we are informed, offered to exchange apparel with him, that he might have an opportunity of escaping, while his friend, remaining a prisoner in his place, should expose himself to the whole weight of the royal resentment: but Russel was as eager to reject that proposal as Cavendish was to make it ²⁵.

When the warrant for his death had been signed, July 22. Russel was conducted from the Tower to Lincoln's-Inn-fields. The court had fixed on that spot for his execution, that, by passing through the city, he might be the more exposed, and his party the more disgraced. The majority of the spectators felt a strong compassion for him; but some had the meanness to insult him. He was affected by the humanity of the former, without being provoked by the brutality of the latter. He disclaimed all intentions of promoting the death of the king or the alteration of the government; but he did not make a specific disavowal of the insurrection which he and his friends appear to have meditated ²⁶. He prepared himself for the block with unshaken fortitude; and the second stroke of the axe put an end to his ex-

25. Burnet, book iii.—Ralph.

26. Ralph.

istence.

A. D.
1683.

istence. He was a man of honor, integrity, and virtue; and his amiable qualities, and patriotic sentiments, had rendered him extremely popular. Far from aiming at the destruction of his sovereign, he fought only a removal of abuses, a prevention of slavery, and the exclusion of an odious bigot.

Captain Walcot, Hone, and Rouse, were executed before Ruffel suffered; but his respectable friend, Algernon Sydney, was not brought to his trial till after an interval of several months. With regard to the final declarations of those three individuals, it appears that Walcot denied all concern in the scheme of regicide, but acknowledged that he had been induced to concur in that of an insurrection; that Hone confessed he had given his assent to a proposal for the murder of Charles, though no plan had been adjusted for that nefarious purpose; and that Rouse admitted the existence of a design of seizing the king and taking possession of the Tower, but declared it had been his intention to disclose the plot rather than join in it²⁷. From these and other circumstances we may conclude, that the Rye-house plot, though exaggerated by courtly writers, was not altogether an imposture, as is pretended by authors of the opposite party.

Nov. 21. For want of sufficient evidence against colonel Sydney, recourse was had to his celebrated work (then unpublished) on the subject of government, detached parts of which had been found among his papers by the officers of the crown. Lord Howard being the only person who deposed any thing from his own knowledge against Sydney, that deficiency of testimony was arbitrarily and unjustly supplied by the production of those manuscript passages in which he had asserted

²⁷. Ralph, p. 753.

the derivation of power from the people, the subjection of kings to the laws, and the lawfulness of resisting and deposing tyrants. It was alleged that these doctrines were so treasonable and rebellious, as to remove all doubt of the prisoner's wish to effect the destruction of his prince. He made a spirited and able defence; but a packed jury, influenced by the chief justice Jeffreys, pronounced him guilty. In a letter which he sent to the king, he stated the hardships and irregularities of his trial, and the consequent iniquity of his sentence; but no attention was paid to his appeal. When he appeared on the scaffold at Tower-hill, he seemed eager to leave the world; for his words were few, and his devotions short. He delivered a paper to the sheriffs, complaining of the injustice of his treatment. He submitted his neck to the axe with all the coolness of Roman intrepidity; and was decapitated at one blow. He had constantly evinced a strong attachment to republican principles; had been connected with that faction which shed the blood of the first Charles; and had opposed the elevation of Cromwell to the protectorate, as well as the restoration of Charles II. This prince, having pardoned him for his former delinquency, was not inclined to renew his clemency on the present occasion, though justice required that an illegal sentence should not be executed²⁸.

Hampden being less obnoxious than either Sydney or Russel, and the evidence against him being even more imperfect than that which had been adduced against those victims, it was resolved that he should be indicted only for a misdemeanor. Being tried for having conspired to disturb the peace of the kingdom, he

A. D.
1683.

Dec. 7.

1684.

²⁸. The attainders both of Sydney and Russel were reversed by act of parliament after the Revolution.

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1684.

was fined in the sum of 40,000 pounds. Holloway, one of the inferior conspirators, had been out-lawed on his non-appearance; but, being seized in the West-Indies, he was brought over to England, and put to death. Sir Thomas Armstrong, the confidential associate of the duke of Monmouth, was also executed. In Scotland, Robert Baillie, a man of learning and respectability, was tried for his connexion with the English mal-contents, and punished as a traitor ²⁹.

After some months of concealment, the duke of Monmouth, on private assurances of the royal forgiveness, had surrendered himself before the execution of Sydney. He was persuaded by Charles to confess his concern in the scheme of an insurrection; but he peremptorily denied that he had ever concurred in any design against the life of that prince or his brother. He afterwards retracted his confession, that it might not be used to the prejudice of those mal-contents who had not then been tried. The king was so incensed at the evasive behaviour of his son, that he prohibited him from appearing at court; and the duke then retired to the continent ³⁰.

The royal brothers now enjoyed their triumph over the liberties of the nation. The discomfiture of the Whig party, the progressive surrenders of the charters of corporations, the obsequiousness of juries, and the seeming eagerness of the people to rush into servitude, flattered the domineering spirit of the court. The public addresses to the king breathed all the fervor of loyalty, and all the devotion of passive obedience. This slavish doctrine had been particularly asserted by the members of the university of Oxford, who had voted, in convocation, a remarkable decree ³¹, affirming that the idea

29. State-Trials.—Burnet.

30. Ralph's Charles II.

31. July 21, 1683.

A. D.
1684.

of the primary derivation of power from the people, of a compact, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects, a tyrant's forfeiture of his sovereignty, the discharge of oppressed communities from their allegiance, the lawfulness of popular associations for the defence of religion and liberty, the justice and propriety of putting tyrannical princes to death, and many other opinions maintained by different advocates of the rights of man (some of which, indeed, were ill-founded and absurd, while others were justifiable and judicious), were false, seditious, and impious; and that an absolute and unreserved submission to the government was a doctrine which ought to be universally adopted, as necessary for the preservation of public peace and social happiness³².

In foreign affairs, Charles still adhered to the Gallic interests; and, influenced by the pension which he continued to receive from Lewis, he connived at the encroachments that were now made by that rapacious monarch on the Spanish territories. The prince of Orange repeatedly urged him to attend to the dictates of policy, and vigorously oppose those steps which France was taking towards the attainment of a supreme dominion over the potentates of Europe; but all remonstrances of this nature were unavailing.

The discontinuance of parliaments preventing those occasional supplies which the king might otherwise have received, he had made some retrenchments in his expences; and he now made another diminution of his disbursements, by relinquishing Tangier. The possession of this place had involved him in hostilities with the Moors, who had frequently attempted the capture of it; and, as this circumstance greatly increased the

32. Kennet's Charles II.

A. D.
1684.

charges of the garrison, he resolved to demolish the fortifications. Lord Dartmouth was therefore sent thither with a squadron; and, having blown up the works, he brought away his countrymen to England³³.

1685.

Though the king had subdued a formidable party, and had acquired a degree of power inconsistent with the constitution of a limited monarchy, he did not seem altogether satisfied with his situation. He had reason to conclude, that his subserviency to the counsels of his unpopular brother, his devolution of the management of the state on one whom the test-act disqualified from the exercise of any public trust, his ruling without a parliament, and his late exertions of prerogative, had excited much disgust; and it has been strongly affirmed, that he had formed an intention of banishing the duke of York from his presence, dismissing such of his counsellors as had encouraged him in arbitrary measures, convoking a parliament, and governing in future according to the principles of the constitution. But, if he really cherished such views, death prevented the execution of them. He was suddenly seized with a violent fit, from which he apparently recovered; but, after a few days, it returned with augmented force. During his indisposition, he was not only attended by some of his prelates, but also by a Romish priest; and he evidently preferred the pious offices of the latter, from whom he received the eucharist and extreme unction. He expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and in the twenty-fifth year after his return from exile. It was suspected by many, that he had been poisoned by the catholics, from their dread of the supposed change in his sentiments, and their impatience for the acces-

Feb. 6.

33. Burnet, book iii.—Ralph.

sion of their patron to the throne. But, though some writers have countenanced this suspicion, we have not sufficient grounds to authorise our adoption of it ³⁴.

A. D.
1685.

Charles II. was in his person tall and robust; his features were harsh, and his complexion swarthy. The faculties of his mind were strong and perspicacious; his parts were lively and brilliant; and his judgment was found and clear, though he made few displays of it in his actions. His colloquial talents were extraordinary: he was distinguished by his wit, cheerfulness, affability, and politeness; and was universally considered as superior to all his subjects in the winning graces of address, the insinuating suavity of manners, and the easy elegance of external demeanor. Though his reading was not extensive, he had a good taste in literature, and was not destitute of scientific acquisitions. He had some knowledge of chemistry, and of various branches of natural philosophy. He had a just conception of the science of mechanics; and he was particularly conversant in the structure and management of ships, in which considerable improvements were made under his auspices.

In his disposition and habits, he was indolent, thoughtless, and licentious; extravagantly addicted to amorous indulgences; accommodating, rather than friendly; and profuse, rather than liberal. He had little gratitude, sincerity, honor, or magnanimity; and, though he evinced humanity and good-nature in private life, and was occasionally merciful in his public capacity, he was easily induced to give way to unreasonable and sanguinary severity. He could treat infamous ruffians with clemency, and sacrifice men of merit and virtue at the shrine of arbitrary power. He has

34. Burnet, book iii.—Welwood's Memoirs.—Ralph.—Kennet,

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1685.

been represented, by one of his nobles³⁵, as “an easy
“generous lover, a civil obliging husband, a friendly
“brother, an indulgent father, and a good-natured mas-
“ter.” To some of these characters he may be said
to have been entitled: but some reserve must be made
with regard to two of them; for, when a wife is treat-
ed with indifference and contempt, and insulted with a
systematic course of open infidelity, there is little merit
in such outward civilities as the husband cannot de-
cently withhold; and, with respect to the constant
support which Charles gave to the duke of York,
though it wore an aspect of fraternal friendship, and is
mentioned by the same writer as a proof of his inclina-
tion to justice, it may be rather ascribed to policy, and
to an opinion of the close connexion of his own interest
with that of the duke.

Viewing the characters of men through the medium
of prejudice, arising from a consciousness of his own
want of integrity and principle, he entertained a very
unfavorable idea of their honor and morals. All public
spirit he resolved into turbulence and faction; all pri-
vate virtues, into hypocrisy and self-interest. He con-
sidered the professed advocates of liberty as aiming at
the annihilation of his prerogative; and, though he was
pleased with the conduct of the avowed partisans of
the court, he concluded that they were less actuated
by real conviction than by sycophantic and interested
motives. From indolence as well as inclination, he
sought to make all parties equally his slaves, as a limited
monarchy was managed with greater trouble and diffi-
culty, than attended the tranquil sway of despotism.
He was regardless of the honor and advantage of the
nation which he governed; and, while he might easily

35. John Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, afterwards duke of Bucking-
ham.

A. D.
1685.

have rendered himself the arbiter of Europe, he exposed himself to the contempt of the princes of the continent, and to the clamors of his own subjects, by a mean subserviency to the dishonorable views of the French monarch. His acceptance of a pension from Lewis was base and sordid; and his endeavours to procure the aid of that prince towards the accomplishment of his schemes of triumph over the liberties of England, cannot be mentioned without indignant reprobation.

Though he had little regard for any kind of religion, and lavished his pleasantry and ridicule on that subject in his hours of jollity and intemperance, he was inclined to prefer the catholic system to all others, as that which afforded the best prospect to a libertine. But, though he had stipulated to the French king that he would declare his conversion to that faith, he thought it expedient to protract the avowal of a religion which his people abhorred. In his final indisposition, however, he consented to receive the Romish *viaticum*, as a passport to the celestial mansions ³⁶.

36. This monarch had no legitimate issue; but his natural children were numerous. He had seven sons besides the duke of Monmouth, and five daughters. His chief mistresses were, the countess of Castlemaine, whom he created duchess of Cleveland; Louise de Querouaille, a native of France, whom he promoted to the dignity of duchess of Portsmouth; and Eleanor Gwynne, a theatrical performer.

C H A P. VII.

J A M E S II.

James commences his reign with some irregular proceedings.—An insurrection is kindled against him in Scotland by the earl of Argyle;—and, in England, by the duke of Monmouth;—both of whom are put to death.—The king claims a power of dispensing with the laws. He erects an arbitrary court of high commission.—He tyrannises over the protestants in each of his three kingdoms.—He takes various steps for the subversion of the established religion.

A. D.
1685.

Notwithstanding the strong efforts which had been made for the exclusion of James duke of York, he succeeded his brother, in the sovereignty of the three kingdoms, with as much appearance of general satisfaction, as if no schemes had ever been formed to the prejudice of his hereditary pretensions. The Whigs still continued in a state of depression, and forbore to murmur at an occurrence which they found themselves unable to prevent; while their antagonists gloried in having baffled the views of those who had labored to make a breach in the succession.

James, having convoked the privy council, delivered a concise harangue, in which he promised to imitate the mild government of his deceased brother, and maintain the constitution both in church and state. He was then proclaimed king with the usual forms; and addresses of congratulation and flattery were soon presented



Heath sc.

JAMES II.



fented to him by different bodies of his loyal subjects.

A. D.
185.

His early proceedings were not universally agreeable to the people. He issued a proclamation, ordering the continuance of the collection of the customs. As these duties had been only granted for life to the late king, it was manifestly illegal to levy them before a parliamentary vote had renewed the grant. Another part of James's conduct was also an infringement of the laws. In defiance of the disgust which he knew would be excited by his bigotry, he openly attended the proscribed service of the Romish church. To convince the public that his brother had renounced the protestant faith, he ordered two papers to be published which he had found in the cabinet of Charles, but which do not appear to have been composed by him. They contain some fallacious arguments in defence of popery. It was considered as mean and illiberal in James to publish these papers; and his parsimony in the funeral of Charles was condemned as another instance of disregard for the memory of that prince¹.

The new king, instead of continuing the treasury in commission, conferred the dignity of high treasurer on Laurence Hyde, whom Charles had advanced to the earldom of Rochester. He bestowed on the marquis of Halifax the presidency of the council; and, on the earl of Clarendon, the custody of the privy seal. The two secretaries, the earls of Sunderland and Middleton, were continued in their posts; as were the lord-chamberlain Arlington, and other officers of state. The ministers whom James principally consulted were the earls of Rochester and Sunderland; but he paid less atten-

¹, Burnet, vol. i.—Bishop Kennet's Life and Reign of James II.

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1685.

tion to their counsels, than to those of his intriguing queen and the bigots of his own creed.

The king's catholic advisers, as well as his own inclinations, urged him to take vengeance on Titus Otes for his concern in the fabrication of the popish plot. That impostor had been condemned to pay a fine of 100,000 pounds, near the close of the late reign, for having called James a traitor; and he was now tried and convicted on two indictments for perjury. Besides degradation and a fresh mulct, he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and ordered to stand twice in the pillory, and twice to suffer public flagellation; and to be also exposed in the pillory five times in every year of his life².

May 19.

On the festival of St. George, James and his queen passed through the ceremony of coronation; and, in the following month, he opened a new parliament. The influence of the court had predominated in the elections; and the king was so pleased with the returns that were made to the writs, as to boast that "there were not above forty members but such as he wished for." The Whigs, on the other hand, complained that the new charters which had been given to the corporations had so circumscribed the freedom of election, and the irregular practices of the court had so openly prevailed, as to prevent the commons from being the true representatives of the people³.

In his speech to the two houses, James renewed his promises of equitable and constitutional government; but mingled with his gracious expressions an imperious demand of a speedy settlement of the revenue for his life, intimating that he should be greatly displeased if

2. State-Trials — He lived till the reign of William III. from whom he received both a pardon and a pension.

3. Burnet, book iv.
they

they should be induced, by a desire of frequent meetings, to "feed him, from time to time, with such proportions as they should think convenient. This (he said) would be a very improper method to take with him; and the best way to engage him to meet them often, would be always to use him well." This language was not calculated to secure the popularity of the new monarch; and his subjects were disposed to doubt the sincerity of those patriotic professions with which it was accompanied. The commons, however, not only gratified the king with the desired settlement, but also with a large supply for extraordinary purposes. A part of this grant was assigned for the suppression of a rebellion which the earl of Argyle had kindled in Scotland, as well as of that which the duke of Monmouth had excited in England. Both houses expressed their detestation of the traitorous attempts of these rebels, and passed a bill of attainder against the duke, for whose head the king offered a reward of 5000 pounds⁴.

The earl of Argyle, remembering with indignation the iniquitous sentence to which the influence of James had subjected him, had resolved to take arms against his oppressor. Having procured a supply of arms, he set sail from Holland with some British refugees, and disembarked in the shire of Argyle, where he endeavoured to stimulate his countrymen to a rebellion. But he met with so little success, that he was not joined by above 3000 men. The vigilance of the government had prepared a considerable force to oppose him; and his followers were so harassed by the efforts of the royalists, that most of them soon deserted him. Not having an opportunity of escaping, he was conducted pri-

4. Grey's Debates, vol. viii.—Ralph's Review of the Reign of James II.

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1685.
June 30.

soner to Edinburgh ; and, judgment being awarded against him on his former sentence, he was beheaded. Some of his associates were also put to death ⁵.

The duke of Monmouth, who was in Holland at the time of his father's death, quitted that country at the desire of the prince of Orange, who expected that James would soon demand either the dismissal or the surrender of the duke. Conscious of the hatred which his uncle bore him, Monmouth was averse to the idea of returning to England in a peaceful way ; and, with regard to the scheme of an invasion, he considered such a step as highly imprudent and dangerous, at a time when the new king had not been guilty of those flagrant violations of the constitution which alone could render resistance either expedient or justifiable. He therefore resolved to continue his residence on the continent, till the desired opportunity should offer itself. But, after he had retired to Brussels, the importunate entreaties of the British exiles so far prevailed over the facility of his nature, as to induce him to concur with them in an invasion. James having procured an order from the court of Spain for the duke's departure from Brussels, he privately returned to Holland, and participated in the consultations of the earl of Argyle and his comrades. He in vain endeavoured to moderate the earl's impatience ; and, being hurried on by the eagerness of his partisans, he commenced his voyage from the Texel with three vessels. Having reached the

June 11. Dorsetshire coast, he landed at Lyme with about 100 men. He published a manifesto, intimating that he had taken arms for the defence of the protestant faith, the vindication of the laws and privileges of England, and the deliverance of the people from the usurpation and

5. Burnet, book iv. — Ralph.

A. D.
1685.

tyranny of the duke of York, to whom he imputed a series of enormities, particularly the burning of London, the death of Godfrey and of the earl of Essex, and even that of the king his brother. With respect to his own pretensions to the crown, he professed to leave them, as well as the settlement of the kingdom, to the deliberations of a lawful parliament. His popularity, rather than his extravagant manifesto, procured him a reinforcement; but the rashness and precipitancy of his enterprise deterred most of the provincials from joining him. To encourage his men, he sent a body of them to storm Bridport, from which town they dislodged a party of the militia. Though lord Grey, the commander of the rebel detachment, fled before the commencement of the assault, the duke imprudently suffered him to remain one of his chief officers^o.

On the fourth day after his debarkation, the duke marched from Lyme at the head of near 2000 foot and 300 horse. About 4000 of the militia were posted near Axminster, under the duke of Albemarle, who retreated in disorder on the approach of the rebels. If Monmouth had engaged the retiring royalists, he would probably have gained an easy victory; but he thought proper to wait till he had disciplined his forces and augmented their number. Having arrived at Taunton, he was received with loud acclamations; and this favorite of the fair sex was presented with colors, in the name of the townsmen, by a company of virgins. Here he was considerably reinforced; and suffered himself, contrary to his declaration, to be proclaimed king. By three proclamations which he now issued, he set a price on the head of James, declared the parliament to be a seditious assembly, and required the immediate submis-

6. Burnet, book iv.—Kennet's and Ralph's James II,

A. D.
1685.

sion of the duke of Albemarle and his troops. But this shadow of a king was so destitute of resources for the support of his claim, that he was obliged, for want of arms and money, to dismiss some thousands of men who flocked to his banners. In the hope of being admitted into Bristol, he advanced towards the Avon; but, though he repulsed the royalists in a skirmish at Keynsham, he had not sufficient encouragement to make an attempt upon the second city of the realm. He summoned Bath without effect; then marching to Philips-Norton, he gained an advantage over the duke of Grafton, one of his illegitimate brothers. He was now alarmed by the approach of the earl of Feverham with the main body of the king's regular forces; but, after a mutual cannonade, both parties retired. As soon as the earl had increased his train of artillery, he returned in quest of the insurgents. These had stationed themselves at Bridgewater, where they were, in a manner, blockaded by the royalists, though not with the requisite vigilance. Observing the negligence of his adversaries, the duke resolved to assault their camp at Sedgemoor in the night, without waiting the return of a detachment which he had sent to bring off some cannon from Minehead. His partisans being misled in their march, and the cavalry under lord Grey being infected with the pusillanimity of that nobleman, the enemy had time to recover from the surprise occasioned by the sudden approach of the rebels. A brisk engagement ensued, in which the duke's infantry fought with great courage, and repelled their antagonists, but could not prevent them from rallying. At length, the want of ammunition, and the exertions of the royalists, reduced the mal-contents to the necessity of making a retreat. About 300 of the latter were slain in the conflict, and

July 6.

1000 in

1000 in the pursuit. Their leader fled from the field, but was unable to effect his escape from the vengeance which hung over him. He was found in the miserable shelter of a ditch, in the disguise of a peasant, covered with fern. Humbled by his misfortunes, he courted the forgiveness of his uncle with the most submissive entreaties, and implored the indulgence of an interview. Having gained access to the king, he renewed his supplications for pardon; but they were wholly ineffectual. In consequence of the act of attainder, orders were given for his decapitation. The executioner was so inexperienced or confused, that he struck the duke repeatedly without effect, and then threw down the axe in despair. Being commanded to renew his attempts, he gave two other blows before the head of the sufferer was severed from his body. These circumstances increased the grief and horror of the assembled people, who lamented with tears the catastrophe of their favorite⁷.

A. D.
1685.

July 15.

Scenes of vindictive barbarity followed the extinction of this rebellion. The earl of Feversham, tinctured with the arbitrary principles which prevailed in the government of his native country (for, though a peer of England, he was a Frenchman), had taken the liberty of hanging some of the prisoners by his own authority; and colonel Kirk had imitated this illegal example. But Jeffreys, the infamous judge, made the greatest havock under the forms of law. He set out for the west, to try those who had been found in arms, as well as those who were supposed to have favored the duke's enterprise. He began with Alicia Lisle (the aged widow of one of the judges of Charles I.) against whom he extorted a verdict from the jury, for having har-

7. Burnet.—Ralph.—Kennet.

boured

A. D.
1685.

Sept.

Nov. 9.

boured one of the rebels after the late battle. James being in vain solicited to pardon her, she was beheaded. To diminish the fatigues of his judicial office, Jeffreys gave hopes of favor to such prisoners as would confess the crime with which they were charged; intimating that, if they should subject him to the trouble of ascertaining their guilt by trial, they should find no mercy. Hence a considerable number were induced to plead guilty, concluding that, even if they should be able to make a good defence, it would be of little avail against the arbitrary inclinations of Jeffreys, and the fervility of an intimidated jury. But many of these unfortunate individuals found themselves miserably deluded by the insinuations of the sanguinary judge. At Dorchester, Exeter, Taunton, and Wells, the condemnations both of innocent and guilty persons are stated to have exceeded 1000; and, of this number, above 250 were executed, whose heads and quarters were publicly exposed in various parts of the west. These inhuman proceedings, instead of rousing the king's indignation, rendered the judge so acceptable at court, that he was promoted, on the death of the lord-keeper North, to the dignity of lord-chancellor⁸.

After a recess of above four months, the parliament re-assembled; and James then displayed that elation of mind which the suppression of the rebellion had pro-

8. Some other executions of this year require mention. Mrs. Gaunt, an Anabaptist distinguished by her humanity, who had given protection, in the late reign, to a person concerned in the Rye-house plot, was now condemned for high treason, and burned alive. Cornish, who had warmly supported the popular party while he served the office of sheriff of London, was also put to death at this time for his supposed concern in that plot; but it afterwards appeared that the witnesses who had sworn against him were guilty of perjury, for which they were justly subjected to perpetual imprisonment.

duced. Had he used his success with wisdom, equity, and moderation, he might have averted his ruin ; but, as it encouraged him to prosecute without reserve his schemes of power and bigotry, and to act in defiance of the general sentiments of his people, it ultimately proved detrimental and pernicious to this infatuated prince, though highly advantageous to the nation which he forced into resistance. He informed the two houses, that, on account of the insufficiency of the militia for the public defence, he had thought proper to levy an additional force, for which he desired an extraordinary supply ; and that there were officers in his army, who had not complied with the tests required by law, but whom he resolved to continue in their employments. In other words, he declared that he would govern in future by a standing army, and would exercise the power of dispensing with the laws. Even that compliant disposition which he had hitherto found in the parliament, could not tamely submit to these indignities. The commons voted an address against the dispensing power ; and severe remarks were made in both houses on the avowed intentions of the king. A supply, however, was voted ; but, the present temper of his parliamentary subjects, not being altogether agreeable to the king, he prorogued the assembly without receiving the grant ⁹.

A. D.
1685.

Nov. 20.

From the eagerness of James for the propagation of his own religion, the zealous protestants apprehended that, if the tests should be removed, popery would so flourish by his example and encouragement, as to give him an opportunity of imitating the conduct of his friend Lewis XIV. who had lately revoked the edict of Nantes, and persecuted the Huguenots with unre-

9. Chandler's Debates, vol. ii.

A. D.
1685.

lenting cruelty. These new demonstrations of the intolerant spirit of the catholics did not tend to allay the animosity which the protestants had long cherished against their religious enemies; and the fears which James had aroused were greatly strengthened by the violent proceedings of the Gallic court.

1686.

The king was so intent on the assertion of his claim of dispensation, that he resolved to procure a recognition of it from his judges. Having removed from the bench such as he thought would be refractory, he obtained the sanction of eleven of the judges to an opinion,

June 21.

stating that it was an inseparable prerogative of the kings of England to dispense with penal laws in particular cases, and that they were the sole judges of the necessity or expediency of such dispensation. This declaration, far from receiving the assent of the public, served only to produce a great clamor against the king and his servile instruments ¹⁰.

Fortified by a judicial decision, James boldly prosecuted his unconstitutional schemes, and dispensed with those tests which had been provided as barriers to the established church. The catholics were thus introduced into various posts of honor and profit; and, as the king held out the prospect of high favor and reward to those who would renounce the protestant heresy, new converts were occasionally brought within the pale of the Romish church. The friends of the reformed system were studiously discountenanced; and every opportunity was taken, throughout the three kingdoms, of oppressing those individuals who refused to sacrifice their religion to the views of the court. In Scotland the government was principally administered by those obsequious parasites who had meanly declared them-

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selves profelytes to the faith of their sovereign; and, in Ireland, though the lord-lieutenant Clarendon was a protestant, the command of the army was intrusted to Talbot, a violent papist, whose zeal was also rewarded with the dignity of earl of Tyrconnel. By the advice of this zealot, the king was guided in the orders which he sent for the direction of Hibernian affairs; and the protestants, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the earl of Clarendon, were greatly oppressed by Tyrconnel, whose encroachments on the authority of the lieutenant were open and flagrant ¹¹.

Being offended with the conduct of the protestant ecclesiastics, who boldly preached and wrote against the errors and corruptions of popery, James prohibited them from preaching on controversial points; but they disregarded his mandate. Sharp, dean of Norwich, having distinguished himself by his condemnation of the Romish tenets, the king ordered the bishop of London (Henry Compton) to suspend him from his clerical office; but that prelate declined obedience. For this refusal of submission, he was subjected to the jurisdiction of an arbitrary court of ecclesiastical commission. The king's desire of tyrannising over the church, and of gradually bringing that body into his religious views, had induced him to erect this court, which consisted of the primate, the bishops of Durham and Rochester, the lord-chancellor Jeffreys, the lord-treasurer Rochester, the president of the council (earl of Sunderland), and Sir Edward Herbert, chief justice of the king's-bench. The establishment of such a court was contrary to an express provision in that act which had abolished a similar court in the reign of the first Charles; and, as the powers given to it were unconstitutional and exorbitant, a strong dis-

¹¹. Ralph.—Kennet.

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gust was kindled throughout the nation. The in-
compliant bishop, being cited before the new court, dis-
puted the legality of the tribunal; and, after the plead-
ings of his counsel had been heard, he was suspended
from his episcopal functions, on the grounds of disobedi-
ence and contempt. Sharp was also suspended; but,
having deprecated the wrath of his sovereign, he was
soon restored to the exercise of his office ¹².

12. Burnet, book iv.—Kennet.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

The king proceeds in his career of rashness and bigotry.—He involves himself in disputes with the two universities.—He commits seven prelates to the Tower, for opposing his views.—They are tried and acquitted.—The prince of Orange is invited by many of the English nobility to rescue the nation from tyranny.—He makes great preparations for the invasion of England.—James endeavours to soothe his offended subjects, by retracting his unpopular measures.—The prince disembarks his forces at Torbay.—James is deserted by a part of his army.—He quits his capital in consternation, and retires to the continent.—The prince summons a convention; by which he and his wife are declared king and queen of England.

WILLIAM prince of Orange, the nephew and son-in-law of James, had long directed his views to the throne of England. Urged by strong ambition, he had secretly encouraged the malcontents in the late reign, and had promoted their schemes for the exclusion of his uncle from the succession. Though his intrigues had been hitherto abortive, he still hoped for the speedy possession of the crown. To lull James into security, he had offered his service for the suppression of that rebellion which had been raised by the duke of Monmouth, whom each considered as a rival. For the more effectual prosecution of his views, he had gained the earl of Sunderland to his interests. This nobleman was possessed of considerable abilities; but they were not accompanied with honor or principle. He was rapacious, corrupt, ungrateful, and treache-

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rous. He received a pension from the king of France, for promoting the subserviency of James to the views of that monarch; and he was also pensioned by William, the inveterate enemy of Lewis, that he might lead his injudicious master, by artful suggestions, into such measures as would ultimately facilitate the execution of the prince's aims¹. To secure his continuance among the ministers of James, he had courted the favor of the queen with all the arts of insinuation; and, by acquiring her confidence and regard, he strengthened his influence over the king. He at length pretended to be a convert to popery, that no obstacle might remain to the preservation of his interest at court. This was the minister on whom the artful and aspiring William chiefly depended.

The prince felt a secret pleasure whenever he received information of the indiscrete measures of James. He foresaw that the rashness and violence of that monarch would soon inflame his people into a spirit of resistance, which would lead to the accomplishment of the bold schemes of an ambitious competitor. He was urged by some of his English friends to remonstrate against the king's conduct, and to commence a rupture with him for the encroachments which he had already made on the liberties and the religion of his subjects. His interposition, they affirmed, would be justified by the connexion which he had with the nation, from the pretensions which his wife had to the crown, as presumptive heiress of James. But he was of opinion that affairs were not yet ripe for his purposes, as his uncle had not reached the brink of the precipice.

Though James had an unfavorable opinion of his son-in-law, he was not yet aware of the full scope of

1. Macpherson's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i.

the prince's projects. He therefore continued his bold career, without reflecting on the danger to which he exposed himself. He openly prosecuted that scheme which alone was sufficient to ruin his interest with a protestant people. He sent the earl of Castlemaine as his ambassador extraordinary to the pope (Innocent XI.) to express his devotion to the church of Rome, and reconcile his three kingdoms to the apostolic see. The pontiff, sensible of the great difficulty of accomplishing the proposed conversion, and unfriendly to the French interest, to which James was attached, treated his ambassador with insult and contempt; but consented to oblige the devout king by sending a nuncio to England. James received the papal envoy in form, and permitted him to promote without reserve the interests of his church. These illegal communications with the pope were accompanied with other measures which led to the same end. Romish bishops were here employed in the propagation of their doctrines, and the exercise of their worship, under the title of *apostolical vicars*. Seminaries of popery were established in the principal towns; and the king fondly hoped, that the united force of power and persuasion would at length enable him to re-establish the catholic communion in his territories, and redeem the heretics from final perdition ².

Having gratified the papists with various civil and military employments, James began to introduce his religious friends into the dignities of the church. He conferred the see of Oxford on Dr. Parker, who had testified a willingness to embrace the religion of his sovereign. He bestowed the deanery of Christ-church on Massey, a new convert, who received a formal dispen-

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2. Burnet, book iv. — Welwood's Memoirs.

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fation from the tests³. Having thus overleaped the barriers of the church, he would have filled every vacancy with catholics, and have subjected a protestant church to the sway of those who aimed at the subversion of that establishment, had not his career been stopped by the spirit of an incensed nation.

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Being desirous of dignifying his priests with academical honors, the king sent an order to Cambridge, intimating that the degree of master of arts should be granted to father Francis, a Benedictine, without exacting from him the usual oaths. To this mandate a refusal was given, the members of the university alleging that they could not obey it without being guilty of perjury. The vice-chancellor was summoned before the court of ecclesiastical commission, to answer for the disobedience of that body over which he presided. He was removed from his office, suspended from the mastership of Magdalen college, and prohibited from interfering in the public business of the university. A new vice-chancellor was immediately chosen, who, not being intimidated by the sentence pronounced against his predecessor, declared that he would firmly maintain the privileges of the academical body. James, unwilling to contend with the new magistrate, desisted from the enforcement of his mandate⁴.

A warm contest also occurred between the imperious king and the fellows of Magdalen college, Oxford. On the death of the president, the royal mandate was communicated to that society for supplying the vacancy with Anthony Farmer, who had procured this recommendation to a lucrative dignity by a promise of entering into the Romish church. The fellows remon-

3. Appendix to the State Letters of Henry earl of Clarendon.

4. Burnet, book iv.—Kennet.

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April.

strated against the appointment of Farmer, who, they said, was ineligible by the statutes of the foundation. James persisted in his nomination; but a majority of the electors conferred the office of president on John Hough, afterwards bishop of Worcester. The fellows were now cited before the ecclesiastical commissioners at White-hall; but, as they assigned strong reasons for the rejection of Farmer, the king consented to relinquish his recommendation of that candidate, though he resolved that Hough should not enjoy the dignity which was denied to the other. At his desire, the election of Hough was annulled by the obsequious commissioners; and the bishop of Oxford was nominated by letters mandatory. Objections being made to the appointment of this prelate, not only as the vacancy was already filled, but as his election was inconsistent with the statutes, the king was fired with indignation; and, visiting Oxford in the course of a summer tour (which he made with a view of conciliating the compliance of the provincial gentry with his schemes), he had an interview with his collegiate opponents, to whom he behaved with indecent warmth. The fellows, disregarding his menaces, refused to violate their official oaths, or prostitute their consciences to the will of an intemperate bigot. This dispute terminated in the illegal intrusion of the bishop of Oxford into the presidency, and the arbitrary expulsion of twenty-five persons from their fellowships, into which the friends of popery were introduced. The expelled individuals, besides suffering the loss of their freeholds, were declared incapable of any ecclesiastical preferment. This unjustifiable treatment of those who, far from committing any crime, had only maintained their own honor and the privileges of

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their society, greatly increased the unpopularity of James^s.

Though the late king had failed in his endeavours for establishing a general liberty of conscience in his dominions, and had been constrained by the remonstrances of the parliament to retract two declarations which he had issued for the suspension of the penal laws relative to religion, James was not discouraged from a similar attempt. That a zealous papist should be an advocate for toleration, would have been deemed a singular circumstance by the public, had it not been considered that it was only intended as a temporary measure, till the catholics should be enabled, by the avowed partiality of the king, to acquire such a degree of influence as might lead to the triumph of their church; in which event, the rigors of persecution would have been substituted for the mildness of toleration. To promote his views, he courted the protestant dissenters, and affected to raise them from that depression which they had experienced in consequence of the severe attacks of their orthodox enemies. He hoped to procure their conjunction with the papists, that he might, by their aid, obtain the desired victory over the established church; and then, instead of treating them as useful auxiliaries, he would gladly have involved them in the same ruin which he intended for all the followers of the protestant system. They were sensible of his interested views; and, knowing that they were the objects of the strong enmity of the popish zealots, they were convinced that all his professions of regard for them were hypocritical and insidious. But,

April 4.

as soon as James published his "gracious declaration" "to all his loving subjects for liberty of conscience,"

5. Relation of the proceedings against Magdalen-College, Oxford, published in 1688.

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in which he suspended the execution of all the penal laws which restrained the freedom of religion, the presbyterians, the independents, the quakers, the anabaptists, and other sectaries, pleased with a temporary release from persecution, expressed their acknowledgements, in adulatory addresses, for such a demonstration of princely favor and clemency. A declaration of the same nature had lately appeared in Scotland, introduced with a pompous mention of the king's "absolute power, which all his subjects were to obey "without reserve."

James, on his accession, had flattered himself with the hopes of a ready subserviency from the clergy of the church of England, from the sentiments which they had expressed, in his brother's reign, in favor of the doctrine of passive obedience; but, when he found them resolutely bent on the maintenance of those laws which had been enacted for the defence of their establishment against the efforts of sectaries, he banished from his mind all sense of gratitude for the services which they had performed against the advocates for his exclusion, and vowed vengeance against them for their present opposition. He found most of his parliamentary subjects equally zealous with the clergy in the support of the tests; and, having in vain courted the leading members, in private interviews, to a compliance with his plan of toleration, he dissolved the parliament in the summer of this year. He did not, however, abandon the hope of procuring another assembly which might be more compliant in the affair of the tests; and, with this view, he removed the friends of the established church from office in the different corporations, and filled their places with dissenters:

6. Kennet.—Ralph.

He

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1687.

He commanded the provincial lieutenants to make strict inquiry into the sentiments of the freeholders on this subject, and bring them into his views by promises or threats : he employed other emissaries, called *regulators*, to gain over the burgessees to his interest ; but these attempts met with so little success, that he despaired of obtaining the great wish of his heart by the sanction of the legislature. He therefore continued to rule without the advice of a national council ; and, by the frugality with which he managed his revenue, he was enabled to dispense with those extraordinary supplies which depended on a parliamentary grant ⁷.

To over-awe his refractory subjects, he exhibited to them, in a time of full peace, the offensive spectacle of a considerable army, encamped on Hounslow-heath. He had introduced many catholics among his soldiers ; but, as the protestants still predominated, he intended to reinforce their religious adversaries with a powerful body of Hibernian Tories. A spirited letter had been lately addressed to the protestant part of his army, exposing his arbitrary and bigoted views, and representing, in strong colors, the baseness, injustice, and perfidy, of aiding him in the ruin of the national religion and liberties. Johnson, the author of this address, was fined, pilloried, scourged, deprived of a benefice, and degraded from the clerical function ⁸.

In the earlier part of this year, the prince of Orange, attentive to the progress of English affairs, sent Dyckvelt to London, on pretence of remonstrating with the king, but chiefly for the purpose of strengthening his interest with the people. This envoy gave private assurances to the episcopalians, that the prince would firmly support the church of England ; to the protes-

7. Burnet, book iv.—Ralph,

8. Kennet's James II.—Burnet.
tant

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1687.

tant dissenters, that he would procure for them a full toleration; to the mal-contents in general, that he would maintain the laws and liberties of the nation. While Dyckvelt was intriguing among the English, an Hibernian papist named White, who had obtained a titular marquissate from the court of Spain, acted as the representative of James at the Hague, and assured the states, that his master, though he had made some military and naval preparations, had no intention of renouncing his alliance with them, but only wished to be in such a posture as might give him an opportunity of preserving the peace of Europe. The king, by the medium of this minister, endeavoured to prevail on the prince to assent to a repeal of the tests, from an opinion that his compliance might tend to dispel the reluctance of a future parliament; but William declared, that neither he nor the princess would ever consent to the abolition of those laws; that the catholics, when they should obtain a legal sanction to the enjoyment of offices, would never be satisfied till they should become masters; and that, as the ruin of the reformed establishment would follow the triumph of that party, it would be the height of injustice to a protestant nation to prosecute those measures on which the king was so intent. The papists having propagated a report of the prince's acquiescence, pensionary Fagel, in an epistle which he wrote to an agent of James, peremptorily intimated, that, though the prince and princess of Orange would agree to the abrogation of the penal laws against protestant sectaries, and even to the grant of an indulgence to the catholics in the exercise of their religion, they would inviolably maintain those statutes which excluded the latter from parliament, and from all public employments. James

Nov. 4.

was

A. D. 1687. was disgusted with this declaration; and, when Fagel's letter was printed, the Romish party pretended that it was spurious⁹.

A. D. 1688. The opposition of the prince to his views did not deter the king from prosecuting them with redoubled

Apr. 27. spirit. He issued a second declaration for liberty of conscience, renewing the suspension of the tests, and of all the penal laws which obstructed the success of his schemes. That it might make the stronger impression, it was ordered to be publicly read in all the churches of the realm; and the bishops were directed to superintend the execution of this order. The majority of the clergy, being avowed enemies to the declaration, were highly provoked at being required to enforce it in their official capacity; and refused to subject themselves, by compliance, to the derision of the court and the odium of the people. The archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. William Sancroft) resolved to dispute the royal injunction; and he, in concert with six other prelates¹⁰, prepared a petition, in which they objected to the declaration, as founded on a dispensing power, which the parliament had frequently pronounced to be illegal, and requested that the king would not oblige them to disregard the suggestions of prudence, honor, and conscience, by insisting on their publication of it. James received this petition with indignation; and said to the presenters of it, that it was "a standard of rebellion." They were summoned before the privy council to undergo an examination; after which, on their refusal of complying with the royal will, they were sent to the Tower. They were soon after brought

June 8.

9. Ralph's and Kennet's James II.

10. Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Kenn of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol.

to a trial in the court of king's-bench, on the charge of having published a false, malicious, and seditious libel against their sovereign; for so was their petition styled ¹¹.

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This extraordinary trial fixed the attention of the whole nation. It was remarked, that affairs were now brought to a crisis; and that the issue of this procedure would show whether the king or the people would succeed, the former in his tyrannical aims, or the latter in the defence of their liberties. After the adduction of evidence, and a series of elaborate pleadings, the chief justice Wright gave it as his opinion, that the petition was a libel; and Allibone concurred with him; but Holloway and Powell, the other judges of the court, justified the conduct of the seven prelates. The jurors, after a long fluctuation of some of them between their fears of offending the king and their real judgment of the business, gratified the public wish by acquitting the venerable prisoners. Acclamations resounded through the city; and, when the intelligence had reached the camp, loud shouts announced the joy of the soldiers, and convinced the king, who witnessed these effusions of patriotic exultation, that little dependence could be placed on the army for the execution of his arbitrary purposes ¹².

June 30.

The birth of a son ¹³, at this time, gave James so much satisfaction, and flattered him with such a prospect of the security of his throne, that he was encouraged to proceed in his plan, and treat all public opposition with contempt. He removed Holloway and Powell from the judicial bench, for having favored the

11. Appendix to the State Letters of Henry earl of Clarendon.—
State Trials.

12. Echard's Hist. of the Revolution.—Kennet.

13. London Gazette, June 10.

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cause of the accused prelates : he resolved on the prosecution of those ministers who had refused to read his declaration of indulgence, in which number all the clergy, except about 200 ¹⁴, were included ; and he continued, in other respects, to harass and oppress those who preferred law and conscience to his will.

The protestants were as much depressed by the birth of a prince, as the catholics were overjoyed at the incident. The mortification of the former induced many of them to give credit to a report which was eagerly propagated by the opponents of the court, that the child was supposititious ; an ill-founded rumor, which was countenanced by the prince of Orange, and elaborately supported by the anile frivolity of his privy counsellor Burnet.

The encroachments which the king had made on the constitution, and his visible progress towards the subversion of the established church and of the liberties of the nation, had produced a strong and general discontent. The Whigs, ever zealous for freedom and independence, were the first who manifested an inclination for resistance. The Tories, incensed at the ill return which James had made to them for their services, and alarmed at the danger of falling under a permanent yoke of civil and ecclesiastical despotism, to which, notwithstanding their extravagant declarations of unlimited obedience, they were not inclined to submit, united with their political adversaries at the present crisis, and resolved to take measures for opposing the wild career of an indiscrete and misguided monarch. The orthodox clergy, sensible of the perilous predicament in which the church stood, forgot, for a time,

¹⁴ Burnet, book iv.

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their animosity against the protestant dissenters, and combined with the latter for the prevention of that ruin with which the fury of the catholics menaced every branch of the reformed system. Such being the sentiments and dispositions of the majority of the people, their eyes were readily turned towards the prince of Orange, as the person whose protestant zeal would rescue them from the horrors of popery, and whose regard for liberty would contribute to the preservation of their excellent constitution. Many individuals had already applied to him, and solicited his exertions for the deliverance of a nation with which he was so closely connected; and, as this was a measure to which he was sufficiently prompted by his personal ambition, he had only waited for an opportunity of commencing the enterprise with a favorable prospect of success. Such an occasion now presented itself; and a formal invitation which he received from the earls of Shrewsbury, Devonshire, and Danby, the bishop of London, and other persons of rank and influence, encouraged him to hasten his preparations¹⁵. Besides the desire of obtaining the crown of a potent kingdom, he was actuated by a strong passion for crushing the exorbitant power of France; an undertaking which the Dutch and their allies, without the aid of England, were unable to accomplish; and, as such assistance could not be procured while that realm was governed by James, who was more disposed to co-operate with Lewis than to turn his arms against him, those states which dreaded the continuance of Gallic encroachments were not inclined to counter-act the schemes which William had formed against the English sovereign.

Early in this year, the jealousy which James had

¹⁵. Appendix to sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs.

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conceived of the intentions of his nephew, had induced him to require the return of the British regiments in the Dutch service; but the states, influenced by the prince, refused to comply with this demand. During the summer, the republic, alleging the expectation of a war with France, made considerable preparations; and the prince resolved to pass over to England in the autumn, with the British refugees and an army of his own countrymen. When James was apprised of his intentions, he was filled with apprehension and chagrin. He was aware of the disaffection of his people, and of the consequent danger to which his throne was exposed; but, though alarmed, he did not despair of baffling the attempts of his enemies. He augmented his fleet and army; and began to think of retracting some of his unpopular measures, in the hope of allaying that discontent which would otherwise promote the success of the invader. Lewis offered him the aid of a French army, for opposing the prince's efforts; but, by the advice of the earl of Sunderland, he declined an acceptance of the offer, lest the English should be the more irritated against him by his dangerous connexions with the great enemy of the protestant religion, and the disturber of the tranquillity of Europe. When new intelligence arrived of the approaching completion of the Dutch preparations, he endeavoured, at too late a period, to conciliate the favor of the public by gracious declarations and popular acts. He signified his resolution of supporting the church of England; promised to desist from the exercise of the dispensing power; dissolved the court of ecclesiastical commission; restored the corporations to the privileges which they had enjoyed before the late surrender of their charters; annulled the changes
which

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which he had made in Magdalen college; granted a general pardon; and made other attempts to recover the good-will of his people. But we are informed, that, on hearing of the damage which the Dutch fleet had sustained by a tempest, he was inclined to revoke some of his late compliances; and, as they were palpably extorted by fear, the assertion is far from being improbable ¹⁶.

Before the commencement of that expedition for which the English impatiently wished, the prince of Orange published a manifesto, in which he enumerated the tyrannical acts of James, disclaimed all views of conquest, and affirmed that, in coming with an armed force into England, he had no other intentions than those of preserving the protestant religion from ruin, and re-establishing the invaded laws and liberties of the three kingdoms. As the states-general cordially concurred in the prince's schemes, he was enabled to equip a fleet of fifty-two large ships of war, fifty frigates and fire-ships, and near four hundred transports, in which above 14,000 soldiers were embarked. Soon after this armament had sailed from Helvoet-Sluis, it was dispersed and damaged by a violent storm, the effects of which were studiously exaggerated by the friends of the enterprise, who hoped to delude James into an idea of the protraction of the expedition till the following spring. Having soon re-assembled and refitted his fleet, William resumed his voyage, and safely arrived on the coast of Devon. He landed his forces at Torbay without opposition; for the English fleet, consisting of above sixty sail, under the command of George lord Dartmouth, had been prevented by the wind from opposing his progress, or interrupting his

Oct.

Nov. 5.

16. Echard's History of the Revolution.—Kennet.

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disembarkation. For some days subsequent to his landing, few of the English joined him; but, as he knew that the greater part of the nation wished success to his enterprise, he was not discouraged. Having advanced to Exeter, he continued about ten days in that city; and, during that time, he was reinforced by many of the western gentry and their dependents, as well as by others from different parts of the realm.¹⁷

In the mean time, James was employed in counter-acting the influence of the prince's manifesto, in augmenting his army with Scots and Hibernians, and in stimulating the exertions of those who still adhered to him. He ordered a rendezvous of his forces on the plains of Salisbury, and resolved to command them in person. He affected such a confidence of prevailing over his rival, that, when a proposal was mentioned to him for a treaty with the prince, he rejected the idea with scorn, and said he should consider all who gave him such advice as his enemies. He also declined an adoption of the counsels of those noblemen who petitioned him to convocate without delay a free parliament, which they represented as the only visible way of preserving himself and his kingdom. He pretended that he most passionately desired to have such an assembly; but that, as it could not be free while the prince continued in England with his army, he must postpone it till the departure of that invader. This answer gave general disgust, as it was justly suspected that the retreat of the prince would be followed by a renewal of those arbitrary proceedings which had already exasperated the people into a determination of resistance.¹⁸

17. Kennet's James II.—Life of William III. by Walter Harris.

18. Echard's History of the Revolution.—Kennet.

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1683.

Before the king joined his army, some desertions from that body had taken place. Lord Colchester, lord Cornbury, and other officers, had carried off a considerable number of men to the prince's camp; and this intelligence so alarmed James, that he was inclined to relinquish his resolution of heading his army; but, reflecting that his presence might prevent further revolt, he hastened to Salisbury, where his apprehensions were strengthened by the declarations of many of his officers, importing that they could not, consistently with the impulse of their consciences, turn their arms against the prince of Orange. The earl of Feverham advised him to secure lord Churchill, whose fidelity was strongly suspected; but, as he had conferred many favors on that nobleman, he did not suppose that he would be guilty of ingratitude or treachery. Churchill confirmed the earl's suspicions, by joining the invader; and James soon after found reason to believe that he had engaged in a conspiracy for delivering up his royal benefactor to the prince¹⁹. The duke of Grafton, and other officers of the king's army, accompanied Churchill in his retreat; and these instances of desertion, co-operating with intelligence of the increasing strength of the prince's party in various counties, induced the intimidated monarch to retire towards his capital with the remains of his force. In his return, he was abandoned by prince George of Denmark (to whom his daughter Anne had been married in 1683), the young duke of Ormond, and other persons of rank; and, when he arrived in London, he found that the princess herself, influenced by protestant zeal, and by the persuasions of lady Churchill, had privately

Nov. 26.

¹⁹ Diary of Henry earl of Clarendon.—Life of James II. written by himself.

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1688.

quitted the palace, to join the partisans of the prince of Orange. He was violently agitated at this information; and, being now deserted by those in whose attachment he had apparently most reason to confide, he began to think himself on the verge of ruin. But, before he finally yielded to the torrent, he summoned a free parliament, and sent three commissioners to dispose the prince to a reference of all disputes to the determination of that assembly. William, being earnestly desirous of augmenting the king's terrors to such a degree, as to occasion his retreat to the continent, was not inclined to accommodate matters in any way which might leave his uncle in possession of the throne. The proposed adjustment, he thought, would only tend to a limitation of the power of James; whereas, if that monarch could be prevailed on to leave the kingdom, his departure would furnish a plausible pretence for declaring that he had abdicated the throne, and would thus give the prince an opportunity of completing his schemes. The latter, however, affected a desire of accommodation; and, in answer to the proposals of the three deputies, demanded the immediate removal of all papists from office; the release of all who had been imprisoned on his account; a share of the public revenue for maintaining his forces till the meeting of the parliament; the subjection of the Tower to the government of the corporation of London; and other important concessions²⁰. The commissioners sent an express to the king, informing him of these unpleasing demands; and then hastened to confer with him on the subject: but, when they had returned to Westminster, they found that their dispirited sove-

20. Burnet, book iv.—Kennet.

reign had suddenly retired from his palace, with an intention of seeking refuge in a foreign region.

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When the king despaired of the fidelity of the soldiery, he still reposed some confidence in the loyalty of the seamen; and therefore ordered lord Dartmouth to attack the Dutch fleet, as soon as his ships, which had suffered in a storm, were refitted; but, if such an attack had been successful, though it might have revived the drooping spirits of the friends of James, it would have little retarded the accomplishment of the aims of William, who depended on the exertions of his army, and on the influence of that numerous confederacy which had embraced his interests in all parts of the kingdom. Dartmouth was sincerely attached to the service of his master; but he and his chief officers were now inclined to think that it was useless to oppose the torrent, and that it was more expedient to trust to a parliamentary settlement than to the decision of arms. Taking all circumstances into consideration, the king at length resolved on a speedy and secret emigration. He reflected, that the parliament which he had called would probably be so influenced by his enemies, as either to depose him, or circumscribe his power within very narrow limits; that his retreat would perhaps produce such confusion as might terminate in the general desire of his return to his throne; and that, if he should not withdraw himself during the present ferment, he might be deprived of his liberty, if not of his life, by that impatient thirst of power, and that unprincipled ambition, which actuated the invader of his realm. His queen, his priests, and his other catholic counsellors, perceiving that the hatred of the people rendered it prudent for them to retire from the kingdom, encouraged him in his pusillanimous inten-

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tion of departure, and gave him hopes of recovering his authority by the powerful aid of the French king. Having privately sent his wife and son into France, he prepared to follow them with all possible expedition, and with a privacy which withheld the knowledge of his purpose from all persons except the most intimate of his popish friends. He ordered the great seal to be thrown into the Thames; recalled the writs which had been issued for a new parliament; and wrote a letter to his general, the earl of Feversham, in which he excused his soldiers from "resisting a foreign army and a "poisoned nation ²¹." About midnight, he crossed the river from White-hall, and rode towards Feversham, accompanied by Sir Edward Hales, a new convert to popery, and only two other individuals. After they had embarked in the East Swale, their vessel was suddenly boarded by a party of fishermen, who, without knowing the king, robbed him and his companions of their money. Being conducted as a prisoner to Feversham, James was discovered, and baffled in another attempt which he made to escape ²². He therefore resolved to return to London, that he might again try the temper of his people.

The prince of Orange, before the departure of James, had advanced to Hungerford, where he received the royal deputies. He was prosecuting his march to the capital, when he was informed of the king's retreat. This intelligence gave him such satisfaction, that he displayed a cheerfulness which formed no part of his general deportment; and he prepared to take a decisive advantage of this favorable incident.

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When the king's flight was known, a general con-

21. Echard's Hist. of the Revolution.—Ralph.

22. James the Second's Memoirs of his own Life.

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sternation prevailed. It was affirmed that the government was dissolved; that, as all commissions had expired, no authority could be legally exercised by any individual; and that the sovereignty had now reverted to the people, who were at liberty to make new provisions for the revival of a regular administration. Strong apprehensions arose lest the populace should riotously interfere on this momentous occasion, and produce a confusion which might be attended with mischievous consequences. But the presence of the prince of Orange, and the prudent measures of those noblemen who assumed the temporary exercise of the government, dispelled the fears of the moderate, and repressed the efforts of the turbulent. Hence there were no instances of disorder at this crisis, except the demolition of those popish chapels which James had tolerated, and of many habitations occupied by the obnoxious catholics.

The peers who were then in the metropolis, both spiritual and temporal, immediately repaired to Guildhall, where, with the assent of the mayor and aldermen, they prepared a declaration, intimating, that, as the king had withdrawn himself, they had resolved to apply to the prince of Orange, "who, with so great
"kindness to these kingdoms, so vast an expence, and so
"much hazard to his own person, had undertaken, by
"endeavouring to procure a free parliament, to rescue
"them from the imminent dangers of popery and slavery;" that they would, with their utmost endeavours, assist him "in obtaining such a parliament with all
"speed, wherein their laws, their liberties, and properties, might be secured;" that, in the mean time, they would study to preserve the peace of the capital and the adjacent districts, "by disarming all papists, and
"securing

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"securing all Jesuits and Romish priests;" and that they should be ready to perform whatever might promote the prince's "generous intentions for the public good"²³. The earl of Pembroke and other peers were sent to the prince with this declaration, which was signed by twenty-nine persons of that rank. Addressees were also sent to him from the corporation and lieutenancy of London, imploring his protection, and soliciting his appearance in that city, that the great work which he had so happily begun might be speedily accomplished. He was more pleased with these addressees than with the declaration of the peers. The latter, he perhaps thought, had not testified that implicit submission which his imperious temper prompted him to desire, and his present prosperity induced him to expect.

The peers, having removed to White hall, where they received some of James's privy counsellors into their association, continued to take measures for the maintenance of peace and order, and the regulation of the national affairs. They made some official changes; and issued orders to the royal army, the garisons, the navy, and other public bodies. Their commands met with a ready obedience; and the fears of anarchy gave way to the pleasing expectations of a regular settlement²⁴.

It

23. Kennet's James II.

24. Account of the Revolution, by John Sheffield, duke of Buckingham.—Among other acts of authority, the peers imprisoned the lord chancellor Jeffreys. That infamous minister, dreading the vengeance of the people, had disguised himself with a view of escaping beyond sea; but, being discovered at Wapping, he was for some time in great danger of being torn in pieces by the fury of the rabble. Being rescued from this peril, he was committed to the Tower, where he soon after died of a fever, which is supposed to have been occasioned by the anxiety

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It was apprehended by the peers, as well as by the prince, that the royal forces, which had been disbanded by the earl of Feverſham on the receipt of James's letter, would take advantage of the preſent ſtate of the nation to follow a courſe of licentiousneſs and rapine. William ſignified his diſpleaſure at the earl's conduct; and ſaid, with an air of authority, as if he had already obtained the crown to which he aſpired, "I am not to be thus dealt with." He iſſued a mandate from his head-quarters (which he ſtyled his *court*) at Henley, requiring the colonels of the diſbanded regiments to re-aſſemble the ſoldiers, and keep them in good order and diſcipline. As there were many Hibernian papiſts among the king's troops, the ſudden diſmiſſion of them gave riſe to an alarming report, which was induſtriouſly diſſeminated by the prince's partiſans. It was affirmed by ſome provincials, that thoſe furious zealots had turned their arms againſt the Engliſh proteſtants, and were perpetrating a ſeries of maſſacre and conflagration. This rumor produced an extraordinary terror throughout the realm, and ſtrengthened that dread and hatred of popery which ſo highly promoted the ſucceſs of William. It is ſaid to have been an artifice of mareſchal Schomberg; but Hugh Speke, who had been fined in the late reign for aſſerting that the earl of Eſſex had been murdered, not only claimed the merit or rather the infamy of this contrivance, but alſo attributed to himſelf an acrimonious declaration againſt the catholics, published in the preceding month in the name of the prince of Orange ²⁵.

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anxiety of his mind, and the intemperance in which he indulged himſelf, with a view of drowning all reflexions on his guilt, and diſſipating the dread of public puniſhment.

25. Ralph's James I

While

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While the prince was acting as sovereign, he was surprised with the intelligence of the interruption of his uncle's voyage to the continent. It was now his aim to renew, with additional strength, those terrors which had before put James to flight; and he resolved to treat the unhappy king with asperity, insult, and indignity. The earl of Feversham had conducted a party of the guards into Kent, to escort his master to London; and he was now sent from Rochester with a letter to the prince, proposing an immediate treaty in the metropolis, where James, on his return, was saluted with the acclamations of the citizens, arising from a sense of compassion, and from a desire of convincing him that no ill designs had been entertained against his person. His palace was crowded with visitants, who expressed their joy at his arrival. He instantly called a council, and resumed the exercise of sovereignty. Among other orders, he issued one for the prevention of such outrages as had been lately committed against the catholics. But his resumption of his authority was of very short duration. He received a letter from the prince, desiring him to continue at Rochester; and he was so meanly submissive, as to inform Zuyeste, in the bearer of it, that, if it had reached him in time, he would have complied with the requisition. Hearing that his messenger, the earl of Feversham, had been confined by the prince's order, he complained of such irregularity of conduct, as a breach of the law of nations. For the purpose of negotiation, he invited William to St. James's palace, with as many troops as he should think proper to bring with him. The prince had already resolved not only to take that step, but to dislodge the king from White-hall; and, with the consent of the peers who attended him at Windsor, he sent

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sent an order to James, by the marquis of Halifax (who had acted as president of the late association of the nobility), the earl of Shrewsbury, and lord Delamere, intimating that the considerations of public peace, and of his personal safety, rendered it expedient for him to remove to Ham. Before the delivery of this arrogant message, count Solmes, with a detachment of the prince's guards, appeared at White-hall about midnight, and demanded the immediate removal of the royal guards. The king remonstrated against this indignity; and the earl of Craven prepared for an engagement with the intruders: but, to prevent the effusion of blood, James ordered the earl to retire with his men; and the degraded monarch was ignominiously guarded by the troops of his determined enemy. The next insult which he received was the communication of the order for his departure. Though he had retired to rest, the three peers insisted on being admitted into his presence. He received the imperious mandate of their employer with coolness and temper, and expressed his readiness to remove; but begged that he might be permitted to retire to Rochester. His request being granted, he was escorted to that city by a party of Dutch soldiers; and, being apprehensive of personal violence, he again determined on emigration. Some of his friends advised his continuance in England, as the best means of disappointing the ambition of the prince of Orange, whose schemes would only be promoted by his absence. But he persisted in his resolution of leaving the kingdom; and, a vessel being provided for his passage, he embarked at Sheerness with his natural son the duke of Berwick, and arrived in safety at Ambleteuse, where he repaired to the court of Lewis, who received the royal fugitive with politeness and humanity. He left at Rochester

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chester a manuscript of his own composition, in which he reprobated the artful machinations, the unjustifiable conduct, and the domineering insolence, of the prince of Orange, whose behaviour had given him no hopes of security except in flight; but, though he was thus obliged to withdraw, he should still (he said) "be within call, "whenever the eyes of the people should be opened, so "as to see how they had been imposed upon by the "specious pretences of liberty and property ²⁶."

Dec. 18.

On the day of the king's final retreat from his capital, the prince who had driven him from it made a pompous entry into it, and took possession of St. James's palace. Here he received the congratulations of the nobles and gentry, the clergy, the professors of the law, and the members of different corporations, who hailed him as their deliverer from popery and servitude. He held frequent conferences with his chief partisans on the mode in which he should now proceed. Some servile lawyers advised him to declare himself king without delay, as if he had won the crown by conquest; but this proposition was so repugnant to his repeated professions, and so subversive of law and liberty, that even William, though he had lately exhibited some specimens of violence and injustice, rejected it as an extravagant idea. It was at length resolved in his council, that an assembly of peers should be summoned in his name, to treat of the national settlement.

Dec. 21.

When they met at St. James's, to the number of above sixty, he desired them to consider of the best methods of calling a free parliament, and accomplishing the important purposes stated in his declaration. They voted thanks to him for his expedition to England;

²⁶. Life of James II.—Diary of Henry earl of Clarendon.—Kennet
and,

and, meeting the next day in their own house at Westminster, they signed an engagement which his friends had before subscribed at Exeter, intimating that they would firmly support the prince and each other in the adoption of such measures as might be judged requisite for the security of their religion, laws, and liberties, and that they would take severe vengeance on those papists, or "other bloody men," who should offer any violence to his person ²⁷.

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To expedite his ambitious purposes, William, on the day of the king's departure from his realm, issued an order for the attendance of all who had been members of the house of commons in any part of the reign of Charles II. as well as of the mayor and aldermen of London, and fifty of the common-council. Before this assembly met, the peers presented two addresses to the prince, in one of which they desired him to undertake the administration of the national affairs, and the disposal of the public revenue, till the meeting of a convention which, in the other, they requested him to summon. The old members, and the citizens, attended the prince on the appointed day; and being desired by him to deliberate on the same points which he had recommended to the lords, they adjourned to the house of commons; and, after some objections to the present proceedings had been over-ruled, they reinforced, by their concurrence, the requests which the peers had made. William readily acquiesced in these agreeable desires, and promised to pay a strict attention to the maintenance of law and liberty. He now issued circular letters to all the protestant nobles, requiring them to meet at Westminster on the 22d of January; and also to the returning officers of the different counties,

Dec. 23.

Dec. 25.

Dec. 26.

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²⁷. Kennet's James II.—Diary of Henry earl of Clarendon.

cities,

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cities, and boroughs, ordering them to superintend the regular election of members, and send them to the house by that day. That the elections might not bear the appearance of force or restraint, he ordered all troops (except soldiers in garrison) to retire from those towns in which the choice of members should take place ²⁸.

The English nation having quietly submitted to the prince's direction, he took measures for procuring a grant of the administration of Scotland. He assembled about one hundred of the nobility and gentry of that kingdom, who, after some debate, voted an address to him, for the assumption of the government of their country, till the states should meet at his requisition. An address was also presented to him by the chief of the protestant nobles of Ireland, requesting him to take speedy measures for terminating the oppressive sway of James's popish viceroy, the earl of Tyrconnel ²⁹.

Jan. 8.

As the late expences of James had greatly diminished the contents of the exchequer, the prince found it expedient to apply to the corporation of London for the loan of a considerable sum, which, he promised, should be repaid at full interest, with the expiration of six months. He justified this application by alleging the necessity of supporting the charge of the navy, paying off a part of the army, and sending a speedy relief for the defence of the protestant establishment in Ireland. The common-council voted a loan of 200,000 pounds; and this sum was raised with unusual expedition ³⁰.

Jan. 22.

After the prince had ruled the nation for some weeks in great tranquillity, the memorable convention

28. Kennet.—Clarendon's Diary.

29. Kennet.—Burnet.

30. Clarendon's Diary.—Kennet.

assembled.

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assembled. The peers conferred the dignity of speaker on the marquis of Halifax; and the commons filled their chair with Henry Powle. Instead of haranguing the two houses in person, William informed them, by letter, that his endeavours had been sedulously exerted for the maintenance of public peace and safety; that it was now their business to lay the foundations of a firm security for their religion, laws, and liberties; that, as France had declared war against the states-general, by whose interposition he had been enabled to rescue this nation, the early assistance of their English allies would be requisite; and that this consideration, concurring with the danger of the protestant interest in Ireland, ought to operate as an effectual check to unseasonable divisions, as well as to unnecessary delay³¹.

Having gratified the prince with an address of thanks for his deliverance of the kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, and for his great care in the administration of public affairs, which he was desired to continue, both houses entered upon the important concerns of national settlement. The commons, influenced by the Whig leaders, were inclined to make a breach in the order of succession, by deposing James, and disinheriting his son: but the lords were greatly divided in this respect. Though the Tories had concurred with the Whigs in opposing the tyranny of James, and soliciting the interposition of William, they did not wish to carry the doctrine of popular interference to so great an extent as to supply, by election, the supposed vacancy of the throne; but were desirous either of the recall and limitation of the fugitive king (to which, however, few agreed), or of the appointment

31. Grey's Debates, vol. ix. — Kennet.

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of a regent who should act in his name. This party made a formidable appearance in the house of lords. Besides these grand points, other circumstances occasioned some difference of opinion. The zealous friends of William were inclined to give him the sole sovereignty, and make his wife (whose pretensions were prior to his) only a queen-consort. This was what the prince himself desired; but, when he found that such a proposition disgusted most of his partisans, he forbore to insist on it, and professed his readiness to acquiesce in a conjunct sovereignty with Mary, on condition that he might have the sole administration. Many of his adherents, however, were not only unwilling to grant him this favor, but wished him to be a titular king, without any other authority than that which his wife might be disposed to allow him. This scheme so shocked his pride, that he declared he would return to Holland with his army, rather than submit to it. But the subserviency of the princess to the will of an imperious husband, released him from his uneasiness on that head. She so far waved her own claim, as to consent to share the crown with the prince, and allow him the sole exercise of the royal power; a compliance which relaxed the opposition of many to the aspiring views of one who demanded too high a reward for his exertions. Another difficulty occurred with regard to the pretensions of the princess Anne, who, as next to her sister in order of succession, would be injured by the eventual death of Mary before William, if that prince should be permitted to wear the crown for life. She therefore, and her Danish husband, strongly objected to the proposed settlement; but, finding that a majority were inclined to it, and having received from

her brother-in-law the promise of an ample revenue, she thought proper to relinquish her opposition ³².

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The commons having resolved themselves into a grand committee to consider of the state of the nation, Hampden, an hereditary patriot, took the chair; and Dolben concluded an elaborate speech with moving, that the retreat of James was a voluntary demise or dereliction of the government. This motion was seconded by Sir Richard Temple, and supported by others; but, as the idea of a demise did not vacate the throne in law, or preclude the observance of the strict rules of hereditary succession, it was deemed too narrow a basis for the proposed superstructure. It was therefore contended, by Sir Robert Howard and other members, that the conduct of James, in prosecuting a series of tyranny, and then retiring to France, tended to a forfeiture of his royalty, as well as to an abdication of the government; and that the throne, being thus rendered vacant, might be filled at the discretion of the public. Somers (afterwards lord-chancellor) affirmed that the king's retreat into the dominions of a foreign prince, particularly of one of whom the English had reason to be jealous, absolved his subjects from their allegiance. On the other hand, Heneage Finch (earl of Aylesford in the sequel) opposed the assertion of a vacancy of the throne, or of the king's renunciation of the crown, or of the absolution of the people from their fealty; and maintained that such doctrines were illegal and dangerous. Sir Thomas Clarges, Sir Edward Seymour, and others, were of a similar opinion. The result of this debate was the following remarkable vote. It was resolved, without a division, that "king James II. having endeavoured

³² Sheffield's Account of the Revolution.—Burnet.—Ralph.

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“ to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, hath abdicated the government; and that the throne is thereby become vacant.” This resolution was followed by two others, importing that it was inconsistent with the safety and welfare of a protestant realm to be governed by a popish prince, and that, before the vacancy of the throne should be supplied, it would be proper to secure the religion, laws, and liberties, of the nation ³³.

Jan. 29.

The vote of abdication and vacancy being communicated to the peers, warm debates ensued in that assembly. In a general committee, in which the earl of Danby presided, the earl of Nottingham strongly supported the expediency of appointing a regent, under the idea of the incapacity of James for the exercise of the duties of royalty. He affirmed that such a measure would at once rescue the nation from the tyranny of James, and secure the rights of the monarchy and the regularity of succession; whereas the substitution of a new king for the fugitive prince would be an infringement of the constitution, would tend to render the crown elective, and would give rise to continual factions. The earls of Clarendon and Rochester were the chief speakers who enforced the sentiments of Nottingham. In opposition to them, the Whigs, headed on this occasion by Halifax and Danby, contended for the preference of a king to a regent. They argued, that the appointment of a regent in the name

33. Grey's Debates, vol. ix.—Chandler's Debates, vol. ii.

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of a king to whose will he would be adverse, was in itself an absurdity, and was calculated to produce disorder and confusion; that, by the spirit of the constitution, the gross misconduct of James had absolved his subjects from their allegiance; that this circumstance, combined with his retreat from the kingdom, rendered the elevation of a new sovereign to the throne both just and expedient; and that, in this state of affairs, the strong government of a constitutional king was highly preferable to the weak sway of such an heterogeneous governor as the Tories had proposed. The question being put, the numbers were nearly equal; but the advocates for a new king had the majority ³⁴.

The next day, a long debate arose in the upper house on the existence of an original contract between king and people. This question was also decided in favor of the Whigs ³⁵; and the decision is sanctioned by judgment and propriety; for, without the supposition of such a contract, either tacit or express, government would be only another name for the slavery of the people. The suggestions of reason, and the feelings of humanity, conspire to condemn the absurd idea, that sovereigns are not bound by law; an idea which would encourage the enormities of despotism, and tend to the annihilation of national as well as individual dignity and happiness.

Having established the doctrine of the contract, the peers debated that part of the vote of the commons which respected James's violation of it. As this point gave room for little debate, it was quickly determined in the affirmative. The circumstances of abdication

34. By two votes; the division being 51 to 49.

35. By a majority of 7; 53 being for the contract, and 46 against it.

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and vacancy met with a longer discussion. With regard to the former point, it was resolved that *desertion* was a more applicable term; as *abdication* rather implied a voluntary express act of renunciation, which was not the exact case of James. The opinion of a vacancy was reprobated by the Tories, who affirmed, that the maxim of law, "the king never dies;" and the oath of allegiance, which related to the sovereign and his heirs; were both adverse to the supposition of such a vacancy as was implied in the vote of the commons. The opposite party maintained, that the maxim which had been quoted was superseded by the extraordinary nature of the present case; that the oath of allegiance had relation only to a natural demise; that, as an heir could only be entitled to that which his predecessor enjoyed at the time of his death, the heir of James had no pretensions to a throne which that monarch had abdicated; and that, as he had dissolved the obligation between him and his people, he had left them at liberty to adopt or reject the strict arrangement of lineal succession, and to act in that mode which they should conceive to be the most conducive to the prevention of such flagrant misconduct as that which had prompted them to shake off his yoke. In this debate, the Whigs were unsuccessful; for the question of vacancy was rejected by a majority of eleven. It was then moved, that, as James's desertion was allowed, the throne, being declared not vacant, was the right of the next heirs; and that the prince and princess of Orange should therefore be nominated king and queen; but this motion failed by a difference of five ³⁶.

Jan. 31.

In several conferences between the lords and com-

36. Burnet, book iv.—Kennet.—Ralph.

mons, the latter opposed the amendments suggested by the former. They contended, that the mere idea of *desertion* was too limited for the sense which they annexed to the term of *abdication*, which not only respected the king's dereliction of the government in consequence of his retreat, but implied that he had forfeited the crown by having been guilty of such acts as were inconsistent with the obligations of the tenure; and, in favor of the disputed vacancy, they alleged, that the circumstances of James's flight rendered the throne vacant as far as he was concerned; and that, as there was no sovereign at present from whom the English received that protection which was a necessary return for their allegiance, it might also, in strict propriety, be considered as vacant with regard to any other person. Their firmness, co-operating with the intrigues of the prince's friends, at length procured the acquiescence of the major part of the lords in the original vote ³⁷.

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Feb. 6.

The declaration of the vacancy of the throne was followed by a vote of both houses, naming the prince and princess of Orange king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, during the life of each; conferring on the prince the sole and full exercise of the royal power, in the names of both; and settling the crown, after the demise of both, on the heirs of Mary; and, in default of them, on the princess Anne and her heirs; on whose failure, the heirs of William were to enjoy it ³⁸.

The commons had been for some time employed in preparing a recognition of the rights and liberties of

³⁷. On this occasion, the difference amounted to 15; for the numbers were, 62 for the vote, and 47 against it.

³⁸. Grey's Debates, vol. ix.—Kennet.

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the parliament and the people, with a view of securing the adherence of their future sovereigns to the rules of constitutional government. This declaration formed the most important part of that instrument which contained the above-mentioned settlement of the crown; and, as soon as the whole was sanctioned by the assent of the convention, it was communicated by Feb. 13. both houses to the prince of Orange, and to his wife, who had arrived from Holland on the preceding day. When it had been read to them in the Banqueting-house at White-hall, the marquis of Halifax, in the name of the assembly, made them a solemn tender of the crown. They readily accepted the offer; and William acknowledged the favor by declaring, that this was the greatest proof which could have been given of the public confidence; that he would support the religion, laws, and liberties, of his new subjects; would concur in every measure which might tend to the benefit of the kingdom; and would, to the utmost of his power, advance the welfare and glory of the nation. The new king and queen were now proclaimed, under the style of William III. and Mary II.; and the generality of the people cheerfully acquiesced in this establishment ³⁹.

April 11.

The Scottish nation soon followed the example of England. The estates of the northern realm, having met at Edinburgh, deposed James for his repeated violations of their constitution; asserted their rights and liberties in a solemn declaration; offered their crown to William and Mary, in confidence of just and legal government; and settled the future disposal of it in that mode which had been adopted by the English convention ⁴⁰. With regard to Ireland, some difficul-

39. Grey's Debates, vol ix.—Kennet.—Ralph.

40. Burnet, vol. ii.—Chandler's Debates, vol. ii.

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ties were encountered by William before he established himself in the sovereignty of that kingdom. The earl of Tyrconnel still retained the government of it in the name of James; and the power of the catholic faction rendered great exertions necessary for the reduction of that island under the sway of the new possessor of the crown of England. The chief events of this war will be copiously related in the subsequent part of our work.

The declaration of rights presented to William by the convention, may be considered as an elucidation and improvement of *Magna Charta*. It condemned, as illegal and unjustifiable, the suspending and dispensing power assumed by James; the court of high commission; the exaction of money from the people without consent of parliament; the maintenance of a standing army without the same consent; all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures before conviction; the demand of excessive bail; the imposition of exorbitant fines; and the infliction of cruel and unusual punishments. It asserted the right of the subject to petition the king; the right of the protestants to have arms for their defence; the freedom of parliamentary elections; the liberty of speech in parliament; the due empanneling of jurors; the necessity of having freeholders for jurors in cases of high treason; and the expediency of frequently holding parliaments, for the redress of all grievances, and for the improvement and preservation of the laws ⁴¹.

Notwithstanding the praises which have been lavished on this declaration, we may safely pronounce, that it was, in several points, too indefinite, and, upon the whole, less complete than it might easily have been

41. Chandler's Debates, vol. ii. p. 257.

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made. Not to mention other imperfections, the insufficiency of it with regard to parliaments may properly be noticed. It merely stated, that "parliaments ought to be frequently holden;" that "elections ought to be free;" and that the "freedom of parliamentary proceedings ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament." Such vague declarations, instead of confining the prerogative in those respects within certain limits, seemed rather to invite than restrain the encroachments of the sovereign. Specific provisions ought to have been made for the renovation of parliaments by frequent elections, for the prevention of the practice of influencing a majority by the arts of corruption, for the annihilation of aristocratical influence in the transfer of boroughs and the nomination of servile members, and for bringing the commons, as nearly as was practicable, within the strict idea of representatives of the people. But, while we lament that these objects were neglected, we do not mean to insinuate that the nation derived little benefit from the revolution which we have been describing. Though some points were omitted, much was certainly gained; and we have reason to applaud the conduct of those spirited individuals who exerted themselves at this memorable period for the expulsion of an infatuated tyrant, and the ascertainment and security of the liberties of their country.

Of the character of the monarch whom this instrument deprived of his authority, a sketch must be here exhibited. His talents did not rise above mediocrity: they were neither contemptibly dull, nor eminently brilliant. He cultivated them with great assiduity; and at length attained, by indefatigable diligence, such a degree of knowledge as would have enabled him to fill the throne with reputation, had not his pertinacious adherence

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adherence to an odious superstition vitiated all his attainments, hurried him into intemperate measures, and precipitated him from the sovereignty of three kingdoms into an abyss of ruin and disgrace. He was remarkably attentive to every branch of public affairs, and studiously informed himself of the particular as well as general interests of his people. He entered with great zeal into the concerns of navigation and commerce; improved and augmented the maritime force of the realm; and introduced into the naval service an order and discipline which had been before neglected. He managed his revenue with care and frugality, and vigilantly superintended the official conduct of his ministers. He was firm and persevering in his enterprises; bold and open in his designs; and generally upright and honorable in those transactions in which religion had no concern. He was steady in his political attachments, as well as in those of love and friendship. His personal courage was respectable, and had been displayed, before his accession, both in the military and naval departments; but, in the decline of his life, he seems to have been enervated by superstition, and to have lost all the manly spirit of his youth.

An invincible bigotry to the Romish religion, and an implicit adoption of those extravagant notions of the royal prerogative, to which the princes of the house of Stuart were so remarkably devoted, were the causes of James's ruin. He considered himself as the vicerent of Heaven, ruling by indefeasible right over a herd of slaves. The laws of the realm, he thought, were only obligatory on the people; and, as the national faith was inconsistent with his own creed, he deemed the private ties of his perverted conscience a sufficient reason for offering violence and insult to the religious sentiments

A. D.
1689.

sentiments of the community. He was encouraged in his views by the strong declarations of unreserved obedience and blind submission, which the Tories, during their temporary triumph over the Whigs, had lavished on the crown; but, when he had invaded the constitution, and aimed at the subversion of the protestant establishment, he found that those from whom he had expected a full subjection to his will, were more inclined to practise the maxims of their adversaries, than to follow the servile lessons which had been lately inculcated by themselves.

In his exterior demeanor, James was courteous and polite; but he had not that graceful address, or that suavity of manners, which distinguished his brother. In the domestic relations of life, he was mild and humane; though, in his public character, he was barbarously severe and vindictive. He was temperate, but not chaste; for even his pretensions to the praise of piety, and the remonstrances of father Petre, his confessor and chief counsellor, could not prevent him from indulging himself in adulterous commerce ⁴².

⁴². By his first wife, the daughter of the lord-chancellor Clarendon, James had four sons, all of whom died in their infancy; and four daughters, only one of whom (Anne) survived him. By the princess of Modena, his second wife, he had two sons and four daughters. Five natural children, of whom the duke of Berwick was the most distinguished, are attributed to him.

C H A P. IX,

O F T H E C H U R C H.

FROM the period at which we last closed our account of the ecclesiastical concerns of England (at the end of the reign of Richard III.), that subject has been, in general, so connected with affairs of state, that we have mentioned the chief transactions of the church in the progressive history of each reign; a circumstance which will suggest a sufficient reason for the brevity of the present chapter, notwithstanding the extent of time which it comprehends.

At the time of Richard's death, the primacy of England was enjoyed by Thomas Bouchier, who distinguished himself by his encouragement of the infant art of printing. The successor of that prelate was John Morton, bishop of Ely, who had strongly promoted the pretensions of Henry VII. and who, as well as his predecessor, obtained from the pope the dignity of cardinal, and that of chancellor of the realm from his sovereign.

A. D.
1485.

1486.

Henry VII. from motives of policy, courted the favor of the pope, whom he suffered to levy contributions in England. He also cultivated the good-will of his clergy, though he circumscribed their ancient privileges in cases of sanctuary. To the honor of this prince, proceedings against heretics were uncommon in his reign¹.

On the death of Morton, who was more eminent as a politician than as a divine, the see of Canterbury was

1500.

1. Lord Verulam's Life of Henry VII.

conferred

conferred on Henry Dean, bishop of Salisbury, who, after a short enjoyment of his new dignity, was succeeded in it by William Warham, then lord-chancellor. 2504. Warham was eminent as a divine, a civilian, and a statesman; and his general character was estimable, though he disgraced it by his rigor against heretics. Being an advocate for the interests of the see of Rome, he was displeased at the steps which were taken by Henry VIII. towards the annihilation of the papal power in England: but that monarch had made little progress in this scheme, when the primate was removed by death. 3532. He and other prelates, apprehending that the corrupt and vicious characters of a great part of the clergy would furnish the people with a pretence for the adoption of the Lutheran tenets, resolved to take away that ground of heresy by promoting a reformation of the morals and conduct of the ecclesiastics. Cardinal Wolfey, who acted as the pope's legate in England, affected to be desirous of the reformation proposed by the adversaries of Luther; but he was more intent on the prosecution of his own schemes of interest and ambition.

The vacancy occasioned by the death of archbishop Warham was supplied by Thomas Cranmer, who encouraged Henry in the prosecution of his divorce from Catharine of Arragon, in his consequent rupture with the pope, in his abolition of the power of that pontiff in England, in his assumption of the supremacy of the church, in his dissolution of monasteries, and in other measures tending to the ruin of Romish influence in this kingdom. The important transactions of the church in that reign having been recorded in the civil history, we forbear the repetition of them.

Though the spirited proceedings of Henry paved the way for the establishment of the protestant religion in his

his dominions, he was so bigoted to the doctrinal system of Rome, that he retained some of the most exceptionable parts of that creed, and punished his subjects with a death of fire for a disbelief of transubstantiation and other ill-founded tenets. But his son, Edward VI. was a zealous advocate for the extirpation of that faith; and, the protector Somerset and archbishop Cranmer being strongly impressed with the same sentiments, the fabric of protestant reformation was erected under their auspices. The chief measures that were then pursued have been already related; and the steps taken by that inhuman bigot, queen Mary, for the subversion of the infant system of reformation, have also been mentioned. Cardinal Pole, the favorite of that princess, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury after the martyrdom of Cranmer; and, though he was less inclined to excessive rigor than the generality of the catholics, he complied with the queen's orders for the sacrifice of the conscientious protestants. But the accession of Elizabeth put an end to these barbarities. By her, the Romish system was again abolished; and the reformation was settled on a firm basis. The liturgy which had been prepared in her brother's reign by Cranmer and other protestant divines, now underwent a revision, and obtained a full establishment; being the same service which is at present used in the church of England. The articles which are still in force on the subject of religion, were also established at this period; and, indeed, the church, both in point of doctrine and discipline, received, in the reign of Elizabeth, that form which, with small alterations, it has yet preserved. But, among the varieties of opinion which then prevailed on the general head of reformation, it could not be expected that all the enemies of popery in her dominions

1556.

nions would acquiesce in every part of her protestant establishment. The most trifling points will occasion disputes among theologians; and those disputes are soon productive of a separation from the national church. Mary's persecution of the protestants having driven a great number of them out of England, they resided during their exile in Germany and Switzerland, and cultivated an intimacy with the chief followers of Luther and Calvin in those parts of Europe. In the course of this communication, many of them were induced to deviate from the liturgy and the ceremonies which had been introduced under Edward VI. and to renounce an entire submission to the doctrines and discipline of that reign. Returning to their native country after the death of Mary, they retained those disgusts which they had imbibed on the continent, and were indisposed to a full compliance with the ecclesiastical ordinances of Elizabeth. From their affectation of a superior degree of purity in their religious system, they were distinguished by the appellation of *puritans*. They gradually increased the number of their proselytes; and, being patronised by the earl of Leicester and other persons of rank, they at length became formidable to the established church. The queen, incensed at their refractory spirit, commanded Dr. Matthew Parker (whom she had promoted in 1559 to the see of Canterbury) to enforce a strict observance of the canonical ceremonies and worship. Many of the puritans were now summoned before the court of high commission, which she had erected for the cognisance of spiritual offences; and some were deprived of those preferments which they had procured by their zeal against popery. Parker was a man of learning and virtue; but, being eager to promote religious uniformity, he

exerted his authority with a strictness which was construed by the dissenters into unreasonable severity. They were therefore pleased at his death, and at the appointment of Edmund Grindal to the vacant primacy. Having displeased the queen by a lenity of conduct towards the puritans, Grindal was sequestered from his metropolitan jurisdiction. Happening to lose his sight, he resigned his see, and was favored with a pension for life; but he died within a few months after his resignation. His successor was John Whitgift, who had signalised his learning and orthodoxy in a literary controversy with Cartwright, one of the principal champions of the discipline of Geneva ².

1575.

1583.

With a view of distressing the church of England, the catholics encouraged the puritans in their aversion to that establishment; and Jesuits and other Romish emissaries were instructed to assume the appearance of protestants, and take every opportunity of widening the breach between the sectaries and the churchmen. The arts of those incendiaries, and the disputatious humor of the age, increased the number of the seceders from the church; and, though the penal laws against them were multiplied by the parliament, and enforced with rigor, the schism continued to rage. We cannot mention without regret, that some individuals were committed to the flames in this reign on the grounds of heresy ³; and that, among the papists who were executed on pretence of treasonable practices against the government, some appear to have been only guilty of the open exercise of their religion; a circumstance which, though it was rendered capital by statute, ought never to have been punished in that sanguinary way.

The chief protestant sects, at this period, were the presbyterians, the anabaptists, and the Brownists, who,

2. Camd. Ann. Eliz.—Strype.

3. Camd.—Strype.

in defiance of the laws, attempted to establish separate congregations. The first had adopted the sentiments of Calvin, and were inclined to the government of presbyters, or elders, rather than to that of bishops: the second condemned the baptism of infants: the others, who derived their appellation from a divine named Brown, disapproved both episcopacy and presbyterianism, rejected all forms of prayer, and condemned the officiation of clergymen in the matrimonial solemnity. Whitgift labored to suppress these sects; and the civil power aided him in his efforts. The prisons were filled with dissenters; some were hanged, as felonious propagators of pestilent notions; and many were induced to seek refuge on the continent from the rigors of persecution.

1604. The first convocation which met after the death of Elizabeth, passed a copious body of canons, chiefly collected out of the ecclesiastical institutes which her reign and that of Edward VI. had produced. These were promulgated by the royal edict, and enforced with severity by Richard Bancroft, who succeeded Whitgift in the see of Canterbury.

Though James I. was more inclined to treat the dissenters with lenity, than his predecessor had been, he was sometimes guilty of religious murder; for we find that two Arians were burned alive in his reign ⁴, to the great disgrace of the prelates who condemned them (King and Neile), as well as of the prince who consented to their death.

The doctrines of Arminius (a Dutch ecclesiastic, who had entered the lists of theological contention, as an opposer of the tenets of Calvin, by asserting the freedom of the will and the universality of redemption)

4. Fuller's Church-History, book x.

gained ground in England during the reign of James, and were adopted by most of the prelates, by the court, and by the two universities. The members of the established church, as well as the puritans, had hitherto followed the sentiments of Calvin, on the subjects of predestination, election, and grace; but the generality of the former now espoused the creed of Arminius; while the latter, adhering to the Calvinistic doctrines, became more determined enemies of the church. The dissenters being warm advocates for liberty, their adversaries extended the use of the appellation of *puritan*, by applying it not only to those who dissented from the church in point of doctrine or discipline, but also to those who, while they strictly conformed to the ecclesiastical establishment, entertained sentiments favorable to the freedom of the subject. On the other hand, as the friends of prerogative were chiefly Arminians, this name became a term of reproach, and was given, as well as that of papist, not only to such as were really entitled to the denomination, but to all who were attached to the crown, whatever religious principles they professed.

After the rigors of Whitgift and Bancroft, the puritans met with some favor and indulgence under the sway of archbishop Abbot, who was himself a Calvinist in point of doctrine. He relaxed the reins of ecclesiastical discipline, connived at the deviations of many of the ministers of the established church from the strictness of complete conformity, and made few efforts for the suppression of conventicles. As he was a friend to the spirit of liberty which then prevailed, he was not calculated to be a favorite either with James or his son Charles. In the reign of the latter, he was sequestered from his archiepiscopal functions, and confined to one of his houses, partly for his indulgence to

1611.

A. D.
1627.

A. D.
1633.

the dissenters, and partly for his refusal of licensing a sermon preached by Sibthorp, a courtly divine, in support of the doctrine of passive obedience: but he was restored to his jurisdiction in the following year. On the death of this prelate, William Laud was translated from the see of London to that of Canterbury, to the great discontent of the puritans, who were disgusted with those severities which he had already promoted in the courts of high commission and star-chamber. He exerted himself with redoubled spirit after his elevation to the primacy, and increased his unpopularity by his repeated acts of intolerance, by his revival and enforcement of unnecessary ceremonies, and by his encouragement of the unconstitutional measures of his sovereign.

1643.

When the long parliament, after various attacks on the church, had passed an ordinance for the annihilation of the power and office of prelates, deans, archdeacons, &c. some time elapsed before any regular system of discipline was erected on the ruins of the former establishment; and, in that interval, the parochial clergy were suffered to act, in a great measure, according to their own discretion. For the purpose of framing a new plan of church government, the parliament ordered an assembly of divines to meet at Westminster. Most of these ecclesiastics were selected from the friends of presbytery; and they were assisted, or rather directed, by ten members of the upper house, and twenty of the lower. The formal approbation of the covenant was one of the early resolutions of this synod. The adoption of the presbyterian system was strongly recommended to the two houses by this assembly, as well as by the Scots; but these applications were not immediately productive of the desired effect.

At

A. D.
1645.

At length, however, an ordinance was issued by the parliamentary usurpers of the government, introducing presbytery, for three years; as the national religion of England; but they reserved the privilege of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to themselves; notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the chief followers of this system for the grant of plenary authority^s.

The episcopalian clergy, being in general the friends of Charles; were subjected to severe oppressions during the prevalence of the parliamentary faction. They were expelled from their preferments; and many of them were confined for their loyalty. They were prohibited, on pain of fine and imprisonment, even from the private use of their favorite liturgy; and were liable to a penalty for censuring the presbyterian directory. They were discountenanced on every occasion; and poverty and misfortune long pursued them.

During the king's captivity, the presbyterian system was established without limitation of time; but the parliament still refused to grant to the clergy that plenitude of coercive power which they wished to enjoy. The independents, who had lately made a great progress, and had acquired the chief share in the management of affairs, were advocates for the exclusive right of every congregation to govern itself; and, as that opinion was connected with the idea of universal toleration, they were prompted to restrain that spirit of intolerance and persecution which the presbyterians were inclined to exert. When they had effected the destruction both of the king and the monarchy, they countenanced a variety of sects; but refused to tolerate the papists or episcopalians. The protector Cromwell followed a similar line of conduct.

1648.

5. Dugdale's short View of the Troubles. — Whitelocke.

The most remarkable sect which arose during the *inter-regnum*, derived its origin from the enthusiasm of a mechanic named George Fox, who preached against the vanities of the world, condemned all religious ceremonies and ordinances, and recommended a strict attention to the influence and operations of the holy spirit, as sufficient for all the purposes of piety and virtue. His profelytes obtained the appellation of *quakers*, from the tremors and agitations which they affected to feel. As they outraged the public worship in the effervescence of their zeal, they were severely treated by the government; but their tenets quickly made many converts.

The established worship continued on the presbyterian model till the restoration of Charles II. Episcopacy was then restored; and the lands which had belonged to the sees, as well as other ecclesiastical estates, were recovered from the hands of usurpers. As the presbyterians had promoted the king's return, they expected to be gratified with such an alteration of the episcopal system as might, consistently with their consciences, give them an opportunity of retaining their benefices. Pretending a desire of comprehension and union, the episcopalians held a conference at the Savoy with the heads of the presbyterians; but the propositions of the latter were rejected; and the parliament, influenced by the friends of the restored hierarchy, enacted a severe statute against all ministers who refused to comply with the liturgy and canons of the church. This act produced the ejection of near 2000 ecclesiastics, whose scrupulosity of conscience would not permit them to accede to the terms of it. If those concessions which Charles had promised, in a declaration issued by him after his return, had been ratified, few individuals would have resigned their preferments; and the animosities of

A. D.
1662.

of religious contest would have been greatly diminished. But the bigotry and revenge of the churchmen indisposed them to an accommodation, and prompted them to confine their adversaries within narrow limits. The independents, anabaptists, and other fanatics, aware of the odium which they had excited by their concern in the death of the first Charles, had little reason to expect any favor from the son of that monarch. They therefore labored to counteract the views of the presbyterians, and prevent that party from reaping benefits which would be denied to themselves. The catholics strongly opposed an union between the members of the church and the other protestants, from an idea that such a reconciliation would be attended with a rigorous enforcement of the laws against them, and that, if all the dissenters should be subjected to equal persecution, the number and the clamor of the oppressed would be so great, as to extort from the government a grant of toleration, in which the papists, from the known inclinations of the king and his brother, would be included. Thus did various parties, from different views, concur in the promotion of the act of uniformity. Soon after the enactment of this law, the king affected a desire of relieving the non-conformists, and publicly declared that he would suspend the enforcement of the statutes which oppressed them. As it was suspected that his chief aim was to favor the catholics on this occasion, the commons reprobated the proposed indulgence; and he thought proper to desist from his scheme. He afterwards renewed it with the same ill success^o.

In consequence of the act against conventicles, and other severe laws which were enacted in this reign, in

6. Ralph's Charles II. — Burnet's Hist. of his own Times.

addition to the intolerant statutes of Elizabeth, the protestant dissenters were greatly harassed and persecuted. When the king was disposed to favor them, the parliament obstructed his purpose; and, when the latter expressed a similar inclination towards them, Charles was eager to persecute them. The catholics were generally treated with lenity by this prince, except during the rage of the popish plot⁷.

A. D.
1663.

1677.

1688.
Dec. 11.

On the re-establishment of episcopacy, William Juxon, who had succeeded Laud in the see of London, was recalled from that obscurity in which he and the other deprived prelates had lived during the *inter-regnum*, and elevated to the dignity of archbishop of Canterbury. He was distinguished by his piety, moderation, and humanity, rather than by splendor of abilities or profundity of erudition. The next primate was Gilbert Sheldon, who was less humane in his treatment of the non-conformists, than in other parts of his conduct. He expended a great part of his income in benefactions. At his death, the metropolitan see was conferred on William Sancroft, whose opposition to the insidious declaration of James II. for liberty of conscience we have already mentioned. After this prelate, with his six brethren, had been tried and acquitted, he continued to oppose the illegal proceedings of James; and, on the first retreat of that monarch, he concurred in the application of the peers to the prince of Orange. But, when he found that the prince aimed at the throne, his regard for the strictness of succession, and his loyalty to the king, for whose reformation alone he wished, induced him to avoid all participation in those measures which led to the sovereignty of William and Mary; and, on his refusal of acknowledging the new government, he was deprived of his see⁸.

7. Ralph's and Kenner's Charles II.

8. Burnet. — Kennet.

Of the most eminent Persons who flourished in ENGLAND, between the Accession of HENRY VII. and the Abdication of JAMES II.

THOUGH the invention of printing greatly contributed to the promotion of learning and science, the effects which it produced were rather gradual than sudden. Many years elapsed from the introduction of that useful art into England, before a visible improvement took place in the nation. The reign of Henry VII. was not distinguished by the number or the excellence of the cultivators of learning; and it does not appear that the typographic art was exercised to any great extent in his time. The most learned ecclesiastics who flourished under him were the following: cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury; John Alcock, bishop of Ely; Robert Shireburne, bishop of Chichester; John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, the intimate friend of Erasmus; George Ripley, an eminent mathematician; John Percival, and William Galeon, authors of theological works. The chief *literati* among the laymen of this reign were, Stephen Hawes, whose poetical productions were admired by his cotemporaries; Edmund Dudley, infamous by his extortions, but distinguished by his eloquence and knowledge; and John Bouchier, lord Berners.

In the reign of Henry VIII. a more abundant harvest of learned men appeared. Henry was himself an author, and an encourager of the liberal arts and sciences. The multiplication of books diffused an inclination for study; the exposure of the Romish corruptions, by Luther and other continental reformers, prompted the English to investigate theological subjects with redoubled avidity; and the revival of the neglected pursuit of Greek literature, by the example and

instructions of Grocyn, and other Englishmen who had studied in Italy under the Constantinopolitan exiles, improved the taste and erudition of the times.

The most distinguished theological writers of this reign were, the archbishops Cranmer and Lee; cardinal Pole; the bishops Tonstall, Clerk, Fisher, Gardiner, Hildesley, and Sampson; Dr. John Redman, William Tyndale, and John Fryth. The chief authors, in different branches of the *belles lettres*, were these: Sir Thomas More, who, besides assisting the popish clergy with his pen, wrote some poetical and historical pieces; Richard Pace, secretary of state, celebrated for his learning and abilities; Robert Wakefield, an eminent linguist; William Grocyn, a poet and grammarian; Thomas Lynacre, physician to the king, one of the best scholars of the age; William Lily, the grammarian; Henry lord Morley, a miscellaneous writer; Henry earl of Surry, an elegant poet; the elder Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Francis Bryan, Nicholas lord Vaux, George lord Rochford, John Skelton, and Alexander Barclay, who flourished as poets; John Leland, an antiquary, linguist, and poet; Sir Thomas Elyot, and Sir Richard Morysine, polite scholars and ingenious writers; Robert Fabian, John Rastall, George Lily, and Edward Hall, historians. The principal juridical authors were Anthony Fitzherbert and Christopher St.-German.

In the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, the most esteemed writers, of the protestant party (besides some of the above-mentioned divines, who still flourished), were, the bishops Ridley, Hooper, Bush, Coverdale, and Poynt; and, on the popish side, bishop Holyman, and the doctors Cheadsey, Pendleton, and Smith. In polite literature, the following were the most eminent persons of that period: Sir John Cheke,

Sir

Sir Thomas Chaloner, and Sir Anthony Coke (whose daughters were also distinguished by their learning); William Forest, Ralph Radcliffe, and John Heywood, who chiefly excelled in the poetic branch.

Under the auspices of Elizabeth, all kinds of literature were cultivated with spirit and success. In theology, bishop Jewel attained the foremost rank; and the learned labors of this renowned defender of the church of England were ably reinforced by those of Richard Hooker and John Rainolds. Many other members of the church were distinguished by their literary attainments; particularly the archbishops Parker, Whitgift, and Sandys; the bishops Cox, Bale, Bentham, and Parkhurst; William Fulk, John Fox the martyrologist, and Robert Crowley. Of the English catholics of this reign, the most learned were, cardinal Alan, Dr. Thomas Stapleton, Nicholas Saunders, Edmund Campian, and Robert Persons. The most eminent of the protestant non-conformists were, Thomas Cartwright, Christopher Goodman, and Robert Brown. The chief writers in the department of law were, Edmund Plowden, James Dyer, William Rastall, and William Fleetwood. In the medical profession, the principal authors were, Thomas Moffet, John Cay or Key (who was also famous as an antiquary), and Thomas Gibson.

The greatest ornament of this reign, in heroic poetry, was Edmund Spenser, whose *Fairy Queen* is an admirable production, though not equal to the *Iliad* or the *Æneid*. It abounds with sublime flights, beautiful imagery, elegant descriptions, pleasing sentiments, and harmonious versification; but it is too deeply impregnated with the chimeras of romance, and too defective in unity of design, to be considered as a perfect specimen of epic poetry. Other poems of considerable merit

were written by the same ingenious author. He was patronised by Sir Philip Sydney and the earl of Leicester, by whose recommendation he was appointed secretary to lord Grey of Wilton, deputy of Ireland. For his services in that capacity, he obtained a grant of land in the county of Cork ; but, being deprived of this estate by the Hibernian rebels, he returned to England, and died in 1598, in a state of indigence.

In dramatic poetry, an extraordinary genius arose under the government of Elizabeth. This was the celebrated Shakespeare, whose productions, to every person of taste, are the objects of enthusiastic admiration. Though he did not adhere to the Aristotelian laws of the drama, he made ample compensation for the absence of critical regularity, by soaring beyond the reach of art, and by lavishing on his readers a multiplicity of beauties, which even a brilliant genius, restricted by the *minutiæ* of rule, could never have produced. Sublimity of thought, fertility of invention, strength and splendor of imagination, energy of feeling, justness of sentiment, purity of moral, sagacity of remark, characteristic accuracy of delineation, and appropriate felicity of expression, shine in all his pieces ; and, though some admixture of baser metal may be discovered with his sterling gold, his faults are overpowered and lost amidst an inexhaustible profusion of excellencies.

This great man was a native of Stratford upon Avon ; and, as his father, who was a dealer in wool, was encumbered with a numerous family, the son could only obtain the imperfect benefit of an ordinary education. Having found it expedient to make his retreat to London, to avoid a prosecution for deer-stealing, he was reduced to the necessity of undertaking the meanest employments for his support. At length, he procured admission into one of the theatres, where he officiated
for

for some years as a subaltern performer. Being tempted by his situation to make an experiment of his talents in the line of dramatic composition, he met with such success, that he was encouraged to prosecute his career, till he established his fame beyond all competition. Elizabeth admired his merit, and favored him with her esteem, if not with her liberality. Among the nobility, his chief friend was the earl of Southampton. When he had acquired a competent fortune, he retired to his native town, where he died at the age of fifty-two years.

Among the other poets of this reign, we may reckon Edward Vere, earl of Oxford; Thomas Sackville, lord Buckhurst (afterwards earl of Dorset), who, as well as Vere, excelled in the drama; George Ferrars, Richard Edwards, Sir Edward Dyer, George Turberville, John Lily, and George Gascoigne. Sir Philip Sydney may also be mentioned as an ingenious poet; but his best productions are in prose.

Sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state to Edward VI. and Elizabeth; Roger Ascham, tutor to that princess; and Henry Cuff, the associate of the accomplished but rash earl of Essex; were particularly distinguished among the polite scholars of this period. The chief historiographers were, Raphael Holinshed, John Stow, and bishop Cooper. The principal scientific *literati* were, Thomas Harriot, John Dee the Rosicrucian, John Chamber, and Leonard Digges.

In the reigns of the first James and his son, learning and science continued to receive assiduous cultivation, and to produce valuable fruits. The divines of this period surpassed their predecessors in depth of erudition, and were equal to those of the present century. In the number of the most eminent theologians of the reign

reign of James, we may reckon Andrews, Whitaker, Field, Carleton, King, Crakanthorpe, and the elder brother of archbishop Abbot. Under the sway of Charles, the principal divines were, Laud, Chillingworth, Prideaux, Hales, Montague, Jackson, and Featley. Among the physicians of these two reigns, the most distinguished were, Harvey (who discovered the circulation of the blood), Butler, Goulson, and Flood. In the profession of the law, Sir Edward Coke bore away the palm. The lord-chancellor Ellesmere, and his successor Sir Francis Bacon, were also distinguished by their juridical knowledge. But Bacon's chief fame arose from his philosophical merit. For the syllogistic absurdities and frivolous speculations which had before predominated, he endeavoured to substitute a more rational method of interpreting the laws of nature. He taught the student to reason by induction, and reduce science to greater certainty by numerous and accurate experiments. The adoption of his plan produced very important discoveries; and he may justly be considered as the reformer of philosophy. He also excelled as an historical and ethical writer.

In philology and miscellaneous literature, the chief authors of this period were, Selden, Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Thomas Overbury, Sir Henry Savile, Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Heylyn. The most eminent historians were, Sir Walter Raleigh, lord Herbert of Cherbury, Camden the antiquary, bishop Godwin, Daniel the poet, Speed, Sir John Hayward, Habington, and Sir Richard Baker. The most celebrated poets were Cowley and Waller. The former was remarkable for an exuberance of imagination, for an injudicious attachment to puerile conceits, and for his unpolished and inharmonious versification: his Latin poetry is preferable to his English. The latter improved

proved and refined the metrical language of his country; but his productions have not sufficient force or sublimity to place their author in the first class of poets. Sir John Denham, Dr. Donne, Drayton, May, Carew, Cartwright, Sir John Suckling, Sir John Davies, Randolph, Sandys, bishop Corbet, and others, were admired by their compatriots for their poetical talents. The dramatic writers were numerous at this time; and, at the head of these, we may place Benjamin Johnson, who, though he was inferior to Shakespeare in genius, excelled him in learning and judgment. Of the other dramatists, the most distinguished were, Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Chapman, and Marston.

From the death of Charles I. to the Revolution, England abounded in eminent men of every description. The theological department exhibited, during that time, many illustrious names, among which those of Cudworth, Barrow, Wilkins, Pearson, Walton, Sanderfon, Barlow, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Whichcote, and Gunning, are particularly deserving of notice. Bishop Gauden must also be here mentioned, on account of the memorable *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, or Royal Image, which appears to have been composed by him, but revised and improved by Charles I. in whose name it was published. The chief luminaries of the law were, Sir Matthew Hale, Rolle, and the earls of Shaftesbury and Nottingham; to whom we may add the earl of Clarendon and Bulstrode Whitelocke, who were also eminent in the historic line. Sydenham, Willis, Lower, Sir Thomas Browne, and Sir Charles Scarborough, were the ornaments of the medical profession.

The celebrated Thomas Allen, Gunter, Briggs, and other mathematicians and philosophers of the preceding period, were now succeeded by a constellation of ingenious

ingenious men, who enlightened the hemisphere of science; and did honor to that philosophical society which was established after the Restoration. Dr. Wilkins was the chief designer of this institution. This learned prelate was numbered among the best mathematicians of his time, and had great skill in experimental philosophy, which, in consequence of the suggestions and schemes of the great Bacon, now began to be assiduously cultivated. Robert Boyle, the associate of Wilkins, was one of the greatest improvers of science that ever flourished. His penetrating genius, and indefatigable spirit, enabled him to make numerous and important discoveries in chemistry, pneumatics, hydrostatics, and other branches of natural philosophy. Bishop Ward was eminent as an astronomer and mathematician; and, in the latter capacity, he was indebted to the instructions of Oughtred, who was highly celebrated for his skill in that branch of study. Dr. Wallis, Hooke, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir William Petty, Evelyn, and others, were also distinguished by their scientific attainments. Sir Christopher Wren was equal to any of these ingenious men in point of science; and, in architecture, he approached to a competition with the celebrated Inigo Jones, who flourished under the first Charles.

In poetry, the chief honors are due to John Milton, who, in the sublime branch of that art, excelled all his English predecessors as well as contemporaries, and was surpassed only by Homer and Virgil. His *Paradise Lost* is a splendid monument of human genius, exhibiting, in its progress, all the requisites of poetical excellence; but it is occasionally degraded by passages which are unworthy of the author. *Samson Agonistes*, *Comus*, and other productions of his Muse, have great merit. His Latin poetry is elegant and animated; and his Italian sonnets are far from being contemptible.

His

His prose writings are ingenious; and some of them are excellent in point of composition, though debased by prejudice and partiality. Of his life it will be sufficient to observe, that he was the son of a scrivener of London, and was educated at Cambridge; that, after his return from his travels, he employed himself for some years in the instruction of youth; that, during the civil war, he adhered to the parliamentary party, and vindicated by his pen the measures of that faction, justifying, in particular, the trial and decollation of Charles I.; that he served the republican usurpers, and the two protectors, in the capacity of Latin secretary; that, notwithstanding the efforts of some of the royalists for including him in the list of proscribed traitors, he was pardoned by the restored king; and that, having passed the remainder of his life in retirement, he died in 1674, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

A. D.
1688.

The greatest poet of this period, next to Milton, was John Dryden, who was also a student of Cambridge. This author distinguished himself by a multiplicity of publications, both in prose and verse. His poetry, in general, is spirited and harmonious: his prose is fluent, pleasing, and perspicuous. His ode on St. Cecilia's day is one of the best poems in our language; but many of his works, particularly his dramatic pieces, are replete with errors and absurdities, arising from the haste with which the pressure of indigence prompted him to write. The same cause inclined him to accommodate both his political and religious principles to the times. He complimented the protectoral government, and hailed the return of Charles II.; and, on the accession of the catholic James, he renounced the protestant faith. Among his principal cotemporaries, who adorned the republic of letters in different departments, we
may

may reckon Butler, the author of *Hudibras*; Lee, whose tragedies bear evident marks of genius; Otway, the pathetic tragedian; Sir William d'Avenant, whose attempts to shine as an epic poet were less successful than his dramatic efforts; Sir George Etherege, Wycherley, and Shadwell, who excelled in the comic drama; Marvell, the patriotic satirist; Oldham, who has been styled the English Juvenal; the sceptical Hobbes, more famous as a philosopher than as a poet; bishop Sprat, whose prose is superior to his poetry; Sir William Dugdale, the antiquary; the naturalists Ray and Willoughby; Sir William Temple, an esteemed miscellaneous writer; the duke of Buckingham, the marquis of Halifax, and the earls of Dorset, Mulgrave, Rochester, and Anglesey, who cultivated the *belles lettres* with success; Harrington, an able advocate for republican government; and Algernon Sydney, who, in his admirable discourses, not only recommended that form of polity, but enforced those noble principles of liberty which were so obnoxious to a corrupt court, that the life of this able and intrepid patriot was sacrificed at the shrine of arbitrary power.

END OF VOL. VI.

14 NO 63

E R R A T A.

Vol. I. P. 329, in the margin, after 7, add 8.—Vol. II. P. 340, l. 2. before *ordered*, insert *and*.—Vol. III. P. 241, note 29, l. *penult.* before *impress*, delete *be*.—P. 443, l. 26. for *qualifications*, read *qualification*.—Vol. IV. P. 305, l. 24, for *required*, read *acquired*.—Vol. VI. P. 205, l. 20, for *Mount-morris*, read *Mount-norris*.—P. 288, note 1, l. 5, for *seven*, read *several*.—P. 347, l. 18, for *they had*, read *the troops had*.

